

**VIOLENT JUVENILE OFFENDER
RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM**

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Violent Juvenile Offender Program

COMPLETED

Part I

ORIGINAL



FOREWARD

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) is undertaking a comprehensive two-part Violent Juvenile Offender Research and Development Program in an effort to test promising methods for handling violent juvenile offenders and reduce the number of subsequent violent crimes committed by youth involved in the program.

This document addresses Part One of the program which focuses on the treatment and reintegration of violent juvenile delinquents. Part Two, which is being developed separately, focuses on the prevention of violent juvenile crime by community-based organizations.

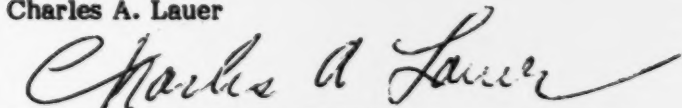
The program was developed in response to growing concern about the problem of violent crimes committed by young people. Our most recent data shows that as much as 25% of all arrests for violent crimes involve juveniles. It is an effort to find ways to reduce violent juvenile crime, both to bolster the public's sense of security in their homes and their communities and to reduce the estimated 5 billion dollars that are spent each year in dealing with violent youth.

Under the direction of OJJDP a number of national organizations and recognized experts in the fields of juvenile delinquency research, prevention, treatment and corrections have developed a variety of intervention strategies which are being rigorously tested in a limited number of high violent crime-rate cities around the nation. The results and conclusions drawn from these carefully controlled experimental projects are expected to provide direction to federal, state, and local efforts to combat violent juvenile crime.

This document has two sections that contain useful information to individuals, organizations, and communities that are presently planning for or carrying on programs to deal with this problem. The first section is the Request For Proposals which was provided to eligible jurisdictions to aid in preparing their contract applications. It describes in detail the intervention strategies to be employed with sufficient latitude to allow for individual local variations, the intended target population for the program, and the selection criteria that were used in awarding these contracts. The second section is a Background Paper that was prepared to assist program applicants, by providing a summary of the data and state-of-the-art information which served as the basis for the design of the national program and the treatment strategies and interventions which are being tested.

Throughout the duration of the Violent Juvenile Offender Program, more materials such as this document will be made available. We believe that this program has promise for guiding both state and local public policy and community action.

Charles A. Lauer



Acting Administrator, OJJDP

VIOLENT JUVENILE OFFENDER
RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM (Part 1)

REQUEST FOR PROPOSALS

Offered by:

The Office of Juvenile Justice
and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP),
under a cooperative agreement
with

Office of Social Justice for
Young People
National Council on Crime
and Delinquency
411 Hackensack Avenue
Hackensack, New Jersey 07601

April 15, 1981

VIOLENT JUVENILE OFFENDER
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VIOLENT JUVENILE OFFENDER
RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

REQUEST FOR PROPOSALS

I. Executive Summary

The Violent Juvenile Offender Research and Development Program is a two-part Federal initiative aimed at learning more about the prevention of violent juvenile crime and treatment methods which reduce recidivism among juvenile offenders adjudicated of violent offenses. This request for proposals is issued under Part I, which deals with the violent juvenile offender. Part II, prevention of violent juvenile crime, is being implemented separately. This program is authorized pursuant to Section 224(a)(12) of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974, as amended.

Part I of the program is a cooperative effort of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), which is funding the program and has responsibility for overall policy; the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD), which serves as National Coordinator and has overall administrative responsibility for the program; the National Organization for Social Responsibility (NOSR), the technical assistance

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contractor; and URSA Institute, which will evaluate the program.

Approximately five projects will be awarded contracts with NCCD to implement an intervention strategy for treating and reintegrating violent juvenile offenders as the result of this solicitation. The average funding level will be \$700,000 for an initial 18-month period. Projects may be eligible to receive funding for a second 18-month period, subject to satisfactory project performance and the availability of funds. Each project will receive assistance in program design and operation and will be systematically monitored, both administratively and fiscally, and evaluated as to its effectiveness with participating youths.

This RFP sets forth guidelines for a specific intervention strategy to be tested, which include required program components and specific approaches to program design. A Background Paper discussing theories of violent juvenile crime, offender characteristics, justice system responses, alternative programs, and the Research and Development Program research design has been prepared by the URSA Institute and is enclosed. The paper, which is intended to assist potential program operators in developing their proposals, sets forth

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in detail the underlying theory and intervention strategy to be tested under the Research and Development Program. The strategy was developed on the basis of a nationwide state-of-the-art assessment of research and programs related to serious, violent juvenile offenders.

Projects must feature a case-management approach, with clear lines of accountability both internally and externally, and must demonstrate a commitment to maintaining the accurate records needed for monitoring and evaluation. They must offer a comprehensive range of services to youths and their families, individually tailored to meet their specific needs, which are aimed at the eventual successful reintegration of offenders into their communities. Projects must actively work to build linkages with all relevant community resources to support reintegration.

A two-stage application process has been established. This RFP is being sent to state and local correctional agencies with jurisdiction over chronic, violent juvenile offenders in the cities listed on the attachment. These cities include all those with 3000 or more reported incidences of violent index crimes, according to the most recent Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) data available from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

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These agencies are invited to submit preapplications in accordance with specified requirements. After review, approximately 10 to 12 finalists will be asked to submit full proposals. These finalists will be given assistance in program design and application preparation by the national organizations operating the program. Approximately five projects will be funded, based upon the selection criteria outlined in this RFP and the overall needs of the national Research and Development Program.

The deadline for submitting preapplications is May 27, 1981, and for final applications July 24, 1981. Programs to be funded will be selected no later than August 31, 1981, and after negotiation, contracts will be awarded by September 30, 1981.

II. Background and Program Description

The overall purpose of the Violent Juvenile Offender Research and Development Program is to learn more about effective approaches to the treatment of violent juvenile crime and to test an intervention strategy designed specifically to reduce violent behavior by chronically violent juvenile offenders.

Crimes of violence, by their nature, cause serious or irreparable harm to their victims and contribute to an atmosphere of public fear. In 1979, juveniles accounted for 20.66 percent of all arrests for the violent crimes of murder, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. When arson is included in the violent crime category, about 25 percent of all arrests for violent crimes in the United States involve persons under 18, although youth aged 10 to 17 represent 13.8 percent of the total United States population. Costs of violent juvenile crime have been estimated at over \$5 billion annually. Finally, preliminary data from a national assessment of youth gangs during the 1970s conducted by Dr. Walter B. Miller indicate that they represent a growing and increasingly serious threat to public safety.

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Yet there has been limited research into the causes of violent juvenile crime. We do know that a small proportion of all juvenile offenders (estimates range from 6 to 15 percent) account for a large percentage (estimated at 50 to 80 percent) of arrests for serious and violent juvenile crimes. Relatively few programs are designed to handle violent juvenile offenders. Furthermore, information on the effectiveness of various strategies and programs is very limited. It is essential that carefully designed strategies for treating and reintegrating violent juvenile offenders be rigorously tested, and that the results be broadly disseminated to states and local communities.

The Violent Juvenile Offender Research and Development Program is based on a nationwide state-of-the-art assessment of serious, violent juvenile crime, research on delinquent careers, and juvenile justice system issues, sponsored by the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. Also, a Special National Workshop on the Serious Juvenile Offender was organized by OJJDP and held in Arlington, Virginia, in January 1980. The Workshop, consisting of researchers, lawyers, judges, practitioners, and representatives of public interest groups, reviewed existing data and research, including that compiled by the OJJDP Assessment Center on the Juvenile

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Justice System. The participants recommended a National Research and Development Program testing a design which encompasses the most effective elements of existing approaches to the reintegration of violent juvenile offenders into their communities and the prevention of violent youth crime.

OJJDP designed a two-part initiative to provide funding and assistance to a small number of projects in order to monitor and evaluate their effectiveness in a systematic manner. Part I of the initiative, covered by this RFP, deals with the violent juvenile offender; Part II, prevention of violent juvenile crime, is being implemented separately, and no further reference will be made to Part II in this RFP.

Part I of the Violent Juvenile Offender R & D Program is designed to test, using experimental methods, a theory-based intervention strategy and specific program components identified through research and assessment activities. A Background Paper prepared by the URSA Institute, describing in detail the theory, strategy, program components, and research design, is included with this RFP to help applicants design programs that operationalize the model to be tested under this initiative.

A. Goals

The major goals of Part I of the Violent Juvenile Offender R & D Program, as set forth by OJJDP, are:

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1. To test program models for the treatment and re-integration of violent juvenile offenders that are designed to reduce violent crimes committed by youth in the program.

2. To assess strategies for increasing the capacity of the juvenile justice system to handle violent juvenile offenders fairly, efficiently, and effectively.

3. To build knowledge about violent juvenile crime and violent youths to aid in the design of future programs aimed at reducing violent juvenile crime.

B. Objective

The objective of this program is to test the effectiveness of an intervention strategy which consists of a continuous case-management approach. Each project must have available to it a variety of residential and nonresidential placements. Regardless of which placements are underwritten by project funds and which are funded in other ways, each project must provide a broad variety of interventions aimed at both protecting the community and meeting the needs of project youths. Placements will present a continuum of more to less secure residential and nonresidential interventions, and must include an intensively supervised community reintegration component. Each youth's placement and movement along the continuum will be

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based on initial and ongoing diagnostic assessments. A comprehensive range of treatment approaches is provided at each stage of the intervention. The treatment approaches for each sequential placement are designed to build upon the treatment approaches provided during the previous placement.

C. National Program Design

Approximately five 18-month demonstration projects, located in urban areas with high rates of violent youth crime, will receive funding on a contract basis. The number was kept small to allow projects to be given adequate financial and technical support so that the approaches and strategy they employ may be thoroughly tested. These projects will receive assistance in program development and operation and will be systematically monitored and evaluated as to their effectiveness with violent juvenile offenders. A total of \$3.5 million will be awarded, for an average of \$700,000 to be available to each of the five sites. Contracts will initially be for 18 months with the possibility of an additional 18 months of support subject to the satisfactory performance of the project and the availability of funds.

The program is being implemented nationally through the cooperative efforts of OJJDP and three organizations:

1. OJJDP sponsors the program and is responsible for the overall policy of the Violent Juvenile Offender R & D Program under its Special Emphasis Division, its

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National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, and its Formula Grants and Technical Assistance Division.

2. The National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD) is National Coordinator of the Program, under a co-operative agreement with OJJDP. NCCD is the overall administrator for Part I and is responsible for ensuring that all aspects of the project operate in a coordinated and complementary fashion. NCCD will function as contract manager to successful bidders, monitoring them both programmatically and fiscally to ensure that they are serving the violent youths at whom this initiative is aimed; that they are providing those services for which they have contracted; and that they are adhering to the requirements of the research design that will enable their effectiveness to be evaluated.
3. The National Organization for Social Responsibility (NOSR) will provide technical assistance to contractors implementing projects and to the program as a whole.
4. The URSA Institute is responsible for assisting in operationalizing the intervention, designing and executing the evaluation of the funded projects, as well as on-going research into all aspects of violent juvenile crime.

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These three organizations, under the purview of OJJDP, began in October 1980 to assess the existing information referred to in the background section on the scope of the problem and on alternative interventions for violent youths. Based on that information they have defined the target population for the initiative, established the intervention strategy to be tested in this program, and developed application procedures and selection criteria.

Specific standards and procedures to guarantee privacy and confidentiality of all data gathered will be developed during the application process. The URSA Institute has filed a Privacy Certification which specifies the procedures they will follow for maintaining confidentiality. An Information Transfer Agreement will serve as a "contract" with the projects to implement those procedures.

D. Target Population

The target population for each of the demonstration projects will consist of chronic, violent juvenile offenders within the applicant's jurisdiction. The target population is comprised of youths residing in one of the 49 cities identified in the attached list of cities reporting 3000 or more incidences of violent index crimes according to most recent available data. The criteria for determining a youth's eligibility are:

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1. Violent. Violent offenses are: first and second degree homicide, kidnap, forcible rape or sodomy, aggravated assault (with a weapon and/or resulting in serious bodily harm), armed robbery, and arson of an occupied structure.
2. Chronic. For all violent offenses other than first degree murder, chronicity involves an adjudicated violent instant offense and at least one prior adjudication or conviction for a violent offense. For first degree murder, no prior history of violence is required.
3. Juvenile. A juvenile is a person who has not yet reached his or her 18th birthday.
4. Offender. To be considered an eligible offender, a juvenile must have committed the instant offense prior to age 18 and have been adjudicated delinquent or received a finding of involvement in juvenile court or found guilty in adult criminal court.

Project youths must be under the jurisdiction of the juvenile justice system. Consistent with the reintegration focus of the program, and recognizing that the target population consists primarily of older juveniles, projects must be able to retain jurisdiction over youths who have not been released by

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age 18; no project youth may be transferred to adult corrections unless found to have committed another offense after an appropriate due process hearing.

E. Project Design Requirements

During the first months of the Violent Juvenile Offender R & D Program, OJJDP and the national groups conducted a review of alternative interventions for violent juvenile offenders, including literature review and on-site visits to a variety of programs although no formal evaluations of programs or techniques were conducted. The theoretical model described in Chapters 3 and 5 of the Background Paper and the project design requirements spelled out in Chapter 5 and this RFP are based on this background assessment.

In order that the intervention strategy receive a valid test, projects funded under this initiative must apply it within a consistent framework, using the elements described in Section II. F of this solicitation. Both the theoretical model and programmatic applications will be tested, using rigorous statistical techniques including random sampling and the use of equivalent control groups.

As described in the Background Paper, the strategy to be tested integrates social control and strain theories with social learning theory; it incorporates individual factors

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(related to psychosocial development and early socialization experiences) which have been identified as important explanations of violent behavior.

In general, the intervention model relies upon the premise that certain factors (individual biological and socio-psychological characteristics) influence youths' behavior, and that the strengthening of attachments to healthy lifestyles and the influence of nondelinquent peers can reduce the risk of further delinquent behavior. The model specifies four primary and complementary underlying principles of program design and case management, described in detail in Chapter 5 of the Background Paper. The following underlying principles must be applied consistently both to overall program design and to individual program elements:

1. Social Networking. Opportunities must be provided for socialization and the development of personal attachments. Social networking stresses the importance of positive role models, involvement with individuals and groups including nondelinquent peers who can provide support and assistance in times of stress, and opportunities to develop acceptable behaviors and social relationships.

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2. Provision of Youth Opportunities. Youngsters must have opportunities to engage in and to experience the rewards of positive behaviors. A legitimate supportive system allows young people to participate in setting their own goals, provides realistic opportunities for vocational and educational achievement, and helps youths to become meaningfully involved in community institutions and activities.
3. Social Learning. Youths must be helped to mature and to take responsibility for their actions. Social learning stresses the strengthening of both external commitments (e.g., attachments to families and friends, educational and occupational goals) and internal commitments (e.g., accountability for delinquent and/or violent behavior). Processes include positive labeling and reinforcement and negative sanctions for illegal actions.
4. Goal-Oriented Interventions. Throughout all aspects of planning and programming, realistic and achievable goals must be set. These must be based on each youth's individual needs and abilities; planning requires identifying specific problems (e.g., substance abuse, poor communications skills, sexual aggressiveness) and

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providing the youth with the supports and treatment necessary to overcome them. It may include addressing identified psychological problems using strategies which specify behavioral objectives.

Based upon the background information gathered and the research requirements of the national program, the following mandatory structural components have been established for projects to be funded under this initiative.

1. Case Management. Continuity in case management is the core structure for this program. A single entity should be identified which has continuing responsibility, from intake through the reintegration process, for each youth. This structure should provide for the integration of all interventions and for the continuity of interventions from secure setting through completion of the community reintegration process. By a case management approach, we mean an intervention strategy that consists of a core of carefully integrated structural components, as defined in Section II.F. These structural elements should reflect the initial and ongoing assessment of the youth and treatment approaches that are designed to reduce the likelihood of future violent behavior.

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The specific elements of this approach include:

(1) diagnostic assessment; (2) development of a treatment or correctional plan and performance contract; (3) placement or referral for treatment; (4) supervision of the youth and monitoring of the treatment process; (5) provision for and intensive monitoring of gradually less secure community reintegration placements which integrate and build upon the treatment approaches of each phase; and (6) program termination and provision for or referral to supplemental treatment and/or opportunities.

2. Range of Treatment Approaches. The projects must offer a comprehensive range of treatment approaches which are integrated and provide for continuity and intensity, including, at minimum, those described in Section II.F.
3. Community Reintegration. Projects must include a community reintegration component. Planning for reintegration should begin on a youth's first day in the program, and should continue through all phases and all aspects of his or her program, including during community placement after release from a closed unit.

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4. Community Service Network. Projects must establish formal linkages from the outset with other components of the justice system (e.g., prosecutors, judges, police) and with other public and private agencies that serve these youths. Projects should establish mechanisms for providing formal, periodic feedback to these justice system agencies.
5. Project Autonomy. Projects should maintain a high degree of autonomy in the management and operation of this project, within statutory and structural limitations. For example, projects must be programmatically independent, and project youths must be dealt with separately from other juveniles under the jurisdiction of the implementing agency. Projects must provide a mechanism for accountability to and from, and exchange of information with, other public and private agencies from whom they purchase services.
6. Records Requirements. Projects must adhere to the research design requirements and maintain the accurate records necessary for monitoring and evaluation of their achievements. The format of these records will be agreed upon by the project operator, the National Coordinator, and the National Evaluator during the

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initial stages of each project.

F. Treatment Approaches

As stated above, each project must offer at a minimum specific treatment approaches aimed at violent delinquent youths which incorporate the four underlying principles and structural components outlined in Section II.E and derived from the intervention strategy (see Background Paper, Chapters 3 and 5). The range of treatment approaches must include, at a minimum, the following:

1. Diagnostic Assessment and Planning Process.

Projects must have a rational and consistent professional diagnostic assessment and planning process by which the needs (e.g., health, employment, education, substance abuse, sex-related problems, and learning disabilities) of individual youths are identified. In addition, projects should recognize and provide for the special religious or cultural needs of their populations (e.g., Native Americans, Muslims). The treatment plan and performance contract should specify which treatment approaches will meet specifically identified needs and achieve measurable behavioral objectives. The diagnostic process should be continuous.

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2. Involvement of Youth and Family. Projects must provide a mechanism whereby youths, and where possible their families, are involved in and understand the youths' individual plans. Performance contracts, signed by both the youth and the responsible project worker, should specify agreed-upon goals; methods for measuring progress toward those goals; continuing review; and, where necessary, modification of each youth's plan.
3. Medical and Health Needs. Each youth should receive a complete physical and dental examination at the time he or she is admitted to the program, to determine specific medical problems (e.g., physical disfigurement, speech defects, physical/motor handicaps, or chronic illnesses) and to identify other potential sources of physical stress which may contribute to violent behavior. Health services should focus both on specific and immediate needs and on general hygiene, nutrition, physical fitness, and health education.
4. Mental Health Treatment Approaches. Mental health treatment should be available to those youths whose need for it is identified through individual assessment. These should include psychological and/or psychiatric counseling for seriously emotionally dis-

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turbed and character-disordered youths. Treatment should be aimed at specific behaviors and factors contributing to violence identified during the individual assessment. Therapeutic and behavior treatment should be available, and should utilize goal-oriented approaches to controlling violent behavior.

5. Individual and Family Counseling. Counseling programs should be consistent with the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 3 of the Background Paper and Section II.E of the RFP and should stress those approaches which have shown positive results with violent youths. They should focus on problem behaviors and factors contributing to those behaviors as identified during each youth's initial individual assessment. Treatment approaches should include individual, group, and family counseling, and parent education, as described in the Background Paper.
6. Education. Educational services should be aimed at helping youths experience the positive reinforcement attendant upon educational achievement (including acquiring a diploma or GED), and should help to strengthen their life skills and the skills they will need to support themselves. Educational goals for each

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individual youth and specific techniques for achieving them should be determined through initial assessment of his or her needs and abilities. Educational services should be compatible and directly linked with the educational assistance strategy developed in the reintegration plan. The range of educational techniques is described in the Background Paper.

7. Job Training Skills and Job Placement. Program youths should receive help in career decision making, acquiring basic vocational skills, learning how to apply for jobs, and acquiring good work habits. As part of the reintegration focus of the program, youths must be helped to find jobs after being released from secure care and provided with the supports that will help them to keep and advance in their jobs.
8. Constructive Living Arrangements. A broad variety of arrangements should be made available to youths leaving secure care. Consistent with the reintegration focus of this initiative, treatment approaches and supports should be available to youths in settings with varying levels of supervision, such as small group care, foster care, independent living, in their

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communities or in new communities, and in-home care. The goal should be to move youths through a smooth and consistent transition to progressively less restrictive environments, with the ultimate aim of returning them to their families or enabling them to live on their own, and the project should provide continuing supports to youths leaving secure care.

9. Leisure-Time Activities. Youths should be provided adequate opportunities for both physical recreation and nonphysical leisure-time activities. They should be able to experience both organized activities which involve them meaningfully in community life and solitary activities which build self-sufficiency.

OJJDP and the three national organizations will be available at the bidders conference (see Section III) to provide additional information to assist bidders in refining and elaborating the structural and treatment approaches of their program designs consistent with the intervention strategy to be tested.

G. Special Conditions

In addition, the following conditions have been set for all projects:

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1. No funds awarded under this initiative may be used for construction, as stipulated in Sections 103(10) and 227(a) of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974, as amended. This does not, however, preclude the use of project money, not to exceed 5 percent of the total budget, for purposes of needed renovation or other improvement of a physical facility no larger than a 20-bed facility.
2. Any project which is located on the grounds of a large correctional institution must be physically, operationally, and programmatically autonomous and self-contained.
3. Any secure residential placement must, to the extent possible, comply with national standards such as those issued by IJA/ABA, NAC, or ACA for secure facilities, except that they need not be coeducational. (See IJA/ABA Standards Relating to Dispositions, Relating to Corrections Administration, Relating to Architecture of Facilities; NAC Standards for the Administration of Justice, The Supervision Function; ACA Manual of Standards for Juvenile Training Schools and Services.) These three sets of standards all require that any secure residential placements be accompanied by services

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aimed at moving youths to physically less restrictive alternatives within the shortest possible time, consistent with the public safety. For purposes of this program, it is recommended that closed facilities have a maximum population of no more than 20. Modifications of other standards may be allowed for valid programmatic reasons clearly spelled out and justified in the project application.

4. Criteria for admission must give priority to those youths whose offense histories and violent behavior are deemed most serious. Projects must have a no-decline policy toward youths who were randomly assigned to the experimental treatment group, with none of these youths being excluded from participation on the basis of being too difficult to handle.
5. A mechanism must be provided to protect the due process and other legal rights of all youths participating in the program. A grievance procedure must be available for any youth who has a conflict either with other youths in the program or with project or justice system personnel.

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III. Application Process

A. Eligible Applicants

Applications are solicited from the state and local correctional agencies with direct day-to-day jurisdiction over target population youngsters in the cities listed on the attachment. These cities include all those with 3000 or more reported incidences for violent index crimes, according to the most recent UCR data available from the FBI. Applications will not be accepted from private agencies, but applicants are encouraged to subcontract with them for specific services and to indicate in their applications those private agencies which have agreed to provide subcontracted services.

B. Two-Stage Application Procedure

In order that potential project operators may benefit to the fullest in their program design from the background work of the national organizations, a two-stage procedure has been designed.

1. Preapplications

Potential program operators are to submit preapplications of no more than 50 double-spaced typewritten pages to NCCD by May 27, 1981. Application requirements for final proposals, selection criteria, and submission procedures are outlined in

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Sections IV, V, and VI of this RFP, respectively. Preapplications should contain each of the required sections, but with less specificity. These will be screened by OJJDP and the three national organizations (NCCD, URSA Institute, and NOSR) and may be subjected to peer review for aid in their evaluation. Approximately 10 to 12 preapplicants will be selected, by June 8, 1981, to be invited to submit full proposals. At the same time, a standard format will be developed for all contracts between the National Coordinator and funded projects.

2. Development of Final Proposals

All finalists will be invited to attend a two-day conference, at their own expense, with representatives from OJJDP and the three national groups on June 16-17, 1981. Details of contract requirements will be presented to the bidders. Following the general presentation, bidders will be assisted in refining their program designs and developing applications which comply with all requirements. Additional assistance with regard to technical requirements will also be available by telephone after the conclusion of the conference. Final applications must be submitted to NCCD by July 24, 1981.

Final applications will be reviewed and evaluated by staff of OJJDP and the three national organizations. On-site verification visits to potential projects may be conducted, but no further

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modification or refinement of applications may be made. The projects to be funded will be selected by OJJDP by August 31, 1981. Final contracts will be negotiated with NCCD during September in accordance with specifications provided by OJJDP, and will be awarded no later than September 30, 1981.

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IV. Application Requirements

Under the two-part application process described above, only preapplications will be accepted initially. These should, however, be sufficiently detailed to allow finalists to be chosen on their merits, and should contain each of the elements listed in Section IV.A-F, below. Those invited to submit final applications will be asked to expand upon the material in the preapplications.

Contracts will include, in addition to other stated requirements and as required by the Federal government:

1. Provision for the examination of project records by NCCD, GAO, and the Comptroller's Office of the Office of Justice Assistance, Research and Statistics.
 2. Provision that contracts can be terminated by the National Coordinator, but not by the contracted program.
 3. Statement of compliance with the Clear Air Act of 1970.
 4. EEO compliance statement.
- Each preapplication should include the following sections:

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A. Problem Statement

Describe the character of the community or jurisdiction in which the proposed project will operate and give the latest available data on violent juvenile crime as defined in Section II.D. Complete the attached data form and submit it with the preapplication. Discuss laws, policies, and procedures affecting these youths, including the jurisdictional ages for juvenile and criminal courts, waiver policies, mandatory commitment policies, etc. Include both the total cost of the use of correctional institutions for juveniles within the jurisdiction and the cost per youth per day. Define the target population specifically (e.g., all youths adjudicated or convicted for violent crimes who have at least one prior adjudication for a violent crime, a subgroup such as those bound over to adult court, etc.), and indicate its anticipated size. (This may be estimated in the preapplication but must be specific and supported by data in final applications.) Identify services now available within the community, gaps and weaknesses in programming for these youths, and barriers to change.

B. Goals and Objectives

Set forth specific goals and objectives for the proposed project and relate them both to the overall goals of the

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Violent Juvenile Offender R & D Program and to the problem as defined above. Project goals should demonstrate an understanding of the research and development nature of this initiative and should be amenable to rigorous evaluation procedures.

C. Program Design

1. Describe how the intervention strategy would be implemented in your jurisdiction. Describe the treatment approaches to be used (Section II.F) and provide a rationale for their application to these youths. Explain how this program will differ from other treatment approaches available in the community, and why it is appropriate for violent youths. Describe how youths will be selected as eligible for participation and how random assignment procedures would be implemented (see appendix to Background Paper). Describe how individual needs of program youths will be assessed and reviewed, how their due process rights will be protected, and how the safety of the youths and the community will be assured.

2. Describe how the program will involve and relate to: other components of the system (e.g., police, prosecutors, courts, probation), including program accountability; sub-contracted service providers; other public and private agencies

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within the jurisdiction; participating youths and their families; and the community in which it is located.

3. Describe how cases are handled in the juvenile justice system in the jurisdiction, including procedures related to detention and prosecutorial decision making. Indicate procedures for review, assessment, and refinement of case handling for violent crimes which you would be interested in undertaking as part of this program.

4. Describe the organizational structure of the project, including staff positions, responsibilities, and required qualifications. This section must include a description of programmatic and fiscal accountability procedures. NCCD and OJJDP have the right of approval over selection of project director.

5. State the anticipated cost per youth per day in each secure and nonsecure placement and compare it with that for correctional institutions within the jurisdiction.

6. Describe the nature and format of police and court record-keeping procedures.

7. Discuss potential impediments to successful implementation of this project and possible solutions to such obstacles.

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D. Capability Statement

State your organizational qualifications to operate the project, including a description of administrative and fiscal procedures which will ensure efficient and responsible operation and the mechanism for relating to the official and unofficial individuals and groups set forth in Section IV.C.2.

Describe the ability of the project to operate within the requirements both of Section II.E-G and of existing laws within the jurisdiction (e.g., the ability to keep program youths past the age of adult jurisdiction). Include assurances of cooperation from other components of the justice system.

Describe the relevant experience and abilities of both the organization as a whole and individual staff, if identified, of the project. Include experience in operating contracts and managing subcontracts, providing treatment to violent juveniles or adults, case-management experience, and areas of expertise relevant to the specific design of the proposed project and to each of the treatment approaches outlined in Section II.F.

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E. Workplan

Describe each task required for project start-up and operation and the estimated time and cost (based on a contract award date of October 1, 1981) required to become operational. (These may be estimated in the preapplication, but should be set forth in detail and on a timechart in the final proposal.) Because funding is assured only for 18 months, projects should begin serving youths as quickly as possible within the realities of their jurisdictions.

F. Budget

Submit a general budget with the preapplication estimating the project's 18-month costs in each of the major categories outlined below. A detailed budget will be required with the final application. Any budget item not applicable to your project should be so noted. Costs which are not specified should be included in the appropriate category according to your program design. For instance, if food is to be provided the cost might fall under "Purchase of Services," "Facility Costs," or "Other Costs." The types of costs included in each category should be stated.

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The budget should be set forth in two columns, one showing the amount for each category to be paid for under the contract herein and the other showing the amount to be obtained from other sources, including in-kind services.

Submit a chart showing the relative costs of each treatment component described in Section II.F.

Finalists will be required to submit an 18-month detailed, itemized budget and budget narrative in a format to be provided. A general budget for a second 18-month period may also be required.

Budget Categories

1. Personnel, including fringe benefits, separately calculated.
2. Purchase of Services, e.g., subcontracts, fees for services, etc.
3. Staff Training.
4. Travel, including two round trips to the Hackensack, New Jersey, offices of the National Coordinator (New York metropolitan area).
5. Facility Costs, e.g., rent, amortization, operating expenses such as utilities, etc.

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6. Leasehold Improvements, e.g., renovations; not to exceed 5 percent of total budget.
7. Furniture and Equipment; specify general types.
8. Other Costs, e.g., office supplies, telephone, postage, youth stipends.

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V. Selection Criteria

Preapplications will be reviewed according to criteria which parallel the application requirements, as will final proposals. Finalists will be selected from among those projects scoring within the top 20 according to the point system outlined below, taking into consideration the research requirements of the national Violent Juvenile Offender R & D Program. Factors to be considered will include geographic diversity (no more than one project per state), jurisdictional and legislative differences, differences in regional demographics, and the level of commitment of key juvenile justice system decision makers (e.g., courts, Directors of Corrections, Divisions of Youth Services) to the specific program design features and the evaluation requirements.

A. Problem Statement (10 points)

This section will be evaluated on the applicant's demonstrated understanding of the problem of violent juvenile crime within its jurisdiction and the issues involved, and its demonstrated need for programming for violent juvenile offenders. Factors to be considered will include the inter-relationships of existing laws, policies, and procedures; how

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violent juvenile offenders are currently handled; the availability or potential availability of services within the community; and political and other factors which will enhance or hinder the project's chances of success in reducing repeated violent crime by participating youngsters.

B. Goals and Objectives (5 points)

The programmatic goals will be rated as to their relevance to the identified problems; whether they are either too ambitious or too limited; their compatability with the overall goals of the Violent Juvenile Offender R & D Program; and their amenability to rigorous quantitative evaluation.

C. Program Design (40 points)

The design of the project will be rated according to its relevance to the youths who will participate, how it addresses the research and development goals of the project, and its fidelity to the research and development intervention model. The program design will be looked at with an eye to both how realistic and how imaginative it is, and to the degree to which it incorporates and expands upon, rather than duplicates, services already available.

Violent Juvenile Offender

Factors which will be considered are:

Research Issues

1. Demonstrated commitment to the maintenance of accurate records for purposes of evaluation.
2. Assurances of access to accurate records of control group for comparison purposes.
3. Willingness to implement the experimental model outlined in this RFP and described in detail in the Background Paper.
4. Assurances of random assignment to the project from the pool of eligible youths.
5. Availability of comparative data on the relative cost of various program components and other types of programming used by the system for these offenders.

Philosophical issues

1. The degree to which all aspects of program design are aimed at the eventual reintegration of youths into their own or other communities.
2. The degree to which the program approaches described in Section II.E are incorporated into design of the overall project and into each component of it.

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3. Realistic understanding of the problems that may be encountered and how they may be dealt with.

Structural Issues

1. The logic and consistency of the process by which treatment plans are developed and reviewed and treatment provided.
2. Clear and rational lines of accountability, both internally and externally, including relationships with named or potential subcontractors.
3. Relevance of organizational structure to the treatment to be provided and to the requirements of the national program.
4. Degree of autonomy within the juvenile justice system and procedures for exchange of information with other components of the system.
5. Ability to establish formal and informal linkages which make maximum use of other resources within the community, including physical proximity or accessibility to those resources.
6. Adequacy of plans to protect the safety both of participating youngsters and the community.

Violent Juvenile Offender

Range of Treatment Approaches

1. Degree to which the required treatment approaches (Section II.F) are provided by the program in ways which relate to the theoretical model and to the individual needs of program youths.
2. Degree to which existing resources are utilized and developed to provide maximum needed services at minimum costs.

Community Reintegration Strategies

1. Degree of involvement of individual youths and, to the extent possible, their families in all aspects of planning and service delivery.
2. Consistency and logic of follow-up with youths and their families after completion of institutional care and during community reintegration phases of the program.

D. Capability Statement (25 points)

The applicant will be rated according to its ability to operate the project within the specified requirements and existing laws and procedures of the jurisdiction. It will be assessed according to the organization's successful experience

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and expertise in management and fiscal matters and according to the experience and expertise of those project staff who have been identified in dealing with violent offenders. The applicant must demonstrate the ability to meet fiscal and reporting requirements of the project in a timely manner. Identified project staff must bring both formal qualifications and a demonstrated commitment to treating these youths.

E. Workplan (10 points)

Applicants will be rated according to how realistic and efficient their start-up and operational plans are.

F. Budget (10 points)

Although applicants must demonstrate an economical approach to the operation of the project, it will be considered equally important that the project budget be adequate to attract and retain high-quality staff, secure and maintain good physical surroundings, and allocate resources so as to provide the comprehensive treatment which fosters reintegration of participating youths.

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VI. Submission Procedure

The procedure for submitting preapplications is as follows:

A. Transmittal Letter

The first page of the preapplication should consist of a one-page transmittal letter, on the applicant's letterhead, containing the name of the proposed project, a one-paragraph synopsis of its design, and the total dollar amount of its estimated 18-month budget. The letter should bear the signature of the chief executive or other authorized representative of the applicant organization.

B. Length

The project narrative should not exceed 50 double-spaced typewritten pages, exclusive of title page, table of contents, charts, letters of commitment, key staff resumes (if known), budget, and budget chart. The budget should not exceed one page. Attached should be a completed crime rate data form (included with this RFP), an organizational chart for the proposed project, and a tentative workplan. Elaborate presentations, including expensive bindings and excessive supporting materials, are not invited. If you wish, you may append a list (of no more than one page) of available background materials which will support your application.

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C. Number of Copies

Six copies of the complete preapplication, one of which must include the signed original of the transmittal letter, must be submitted.

D. Deadline and Mailing Address

Preapplications may be sent registered or certified mail or hand delivered to:

Office of Social Justice for Young People
National Council on Crime and Delinquency
411 Hackensack Avenue
Hackensack, New Jersey 07601

Preapplications must be received by NCCD no later than 4:00 p.m., May 27, 1981. Those postmarked no later than May 20, 1981, will be considered to have been submitted on time. Late applications will not be accepted. All applications will be acknowledged by NCCD upon receipt.

E. Final Applications

The requirements for the final applications will be provided to successful preapplicants at the bidders conference, June 16-17, 1981.

F. Further Information

If you need further information, write to NCCD at the above address or call 201/488-0400. The contact person is Lucy Dorée.

VIOLENT JUVENILE OFFENDER
CRIME RATE DATA FORM

Instructions: To aid in the site selection process, it is crucial that we have some statistical information on both the amount and the nature of crime in the area from which the target population will be selected. Please make every effort to complete as much of this form as possible. If there are categories for which no statistics can be obtained, please write "N.A." (for not available) in the appropriate spaces.

1980 Crime and Arrest Data

	<u>Juvenile</u>	<u>Adult</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Reported Crimes (UCR)</u>			
All Reported Crimes	_____	_____	_____
Index Crimes ¹	_____	_____	_____
Violent Index Offenses ² (V.O.)	_____	_____	_____
<u>Arrests/Apprehensions</u>			
All Recorded Arrests	_____	_____	_____
Index Crimes ¹	_____	_____	_____
Violent Index Offenses ²	_____	_____	_____

1980 Juvenile Court Data³

	<u>Total</u>	<u>With Prior Adjudi- cation</u>	<u>Prior V.O. Adjudi- cation</u>	<u>Prior V.O. Adjud. within 24 Mos. of Instant Offense</u>	<u>With Two Prior Arrests for V.O.s</u>
All referrals to Juvenile Court	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Index Crime offenders referred	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Violent Index offense referrals	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

1980 Juvenile Waivers to Adult Court

	<u>Waived</u>	<u>Convicted</u>
Index Crime Offenders ¹	_____	_____
Violent Index Offenders ²	_____	_____

¹ Murder & nonnegligent manslaughter; forcible rape; robbery; aggravated assault; burglary; larceny-theft; motor vehicle theft; arson.

² Murder & nonnegligent manslaughter; forcible rape; robbery; aggravated assault.

³ If applicable in your jurisdiction, indicate for each category both the number of cases which originated in juvenile court and the number which originated in criminal court and were waived down.

VIOLENT JUVENILE OFFENDER
RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

ELIGIBLE CITIES

The following cities reported 3000 or more incidences of violent index crimes (murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault) during 1980. (Source: Uniform Crime Reports, 1980 Preliminary Annual Release, March 31, 1981.)

ALABAMA

Birmingham

ARIZONA

Phoenix

CALIFORNIA

Long Beach

Los Angeles

*Oakland

Sacramento

San Diego

San Francisco

San Jose

COLORADO

Denver

CONNECTICUT

Hartford

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington

FLORIDA

Jacksonville

Miami

Tampa

GEORGIA

Atlanta

ILLINOIS

Chicago

INDIANA

Indianapolis

LOUISIANA

New Orleans

MARYLAND

Baltimore

MASSACHUSETTS

*Boston

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Flint

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis

MISSOURI

Kansas City

St. Louis

NEVADA

Las Vegas

NEW JERSEY

*Newark

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque

NEW YORK

Buffalo

New York

OHIO

Cincinnati

Cleveland

Columbus

Dayton

Toledo

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma City

OREGON

Portland

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Pittsburgh

TENNESSEE

Memphis

Nashville

TEXAS

Dallas

Fort Worth

*Houston

San Antonio

WASHINGTON

Seattle

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

PUERTO RICO

*San Juan

* Based on 1979 data; 1980 not yet available.

**BACKGROUND PAPER FOR
THE VIOLENT JUVENILE OFFENDER
RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM**

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April, 1981

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Introduction to the Violent Juvenile Offender Research & Development Program

Violent juvenile offenders have recently become the primary focus of juvenile justice system attention and legislative action. While concern about youth crime has historically been great, current public reaction is so intense as to impel a major shift in the basic premises of the juvenile justice system (Sublett, 1977)--from the concept of "parens patriae" and rehabilitative ideals of the juvenile court, to the punitive- retributive philosophy of the adult court. Accompanying this shift is an increasing emphasis on the bellwether of the entire correctional system--secure confinement (Miller and Ohlin, 1980; Vachss and Bakal, 1979). Across the nation, new laws have recently been passed mandating longer periods of more secure confinement for juveniles adjudicated delinquent for violent offenses (Fisher et al., 1981). From this emerging emphasis on determinate sentencing and incapacitation of violent juveniles, we can conclude that the juvenile justice system is also now placing greater emphasis on considerations of personal safety and community protection than on the long-honored concepts of "aid, encouragement, and guidance."

Despite the fact that violent juvenile offenders constitute a relatively small and identifiable group, about whom we are now developing a base of empirical knowledge (see chapter 2), the juvenile court and corrections agencies have largely neglected to differentiate these youth and provide unique dispositions and services. Given limited resources and high caseloads, the juvenile justice system has handled these youth like any other, nonviolent offenders, often with little or no effect (Martinson et al., 1974; Lerman, 1972; Robison and Smith, 1971). Moreover, many critics contend that the system's often irrational and unpredictable response to juvenile crime--where punishment is a matter of chance--acts to perpetuate that crime (Edelman and Roysher, 1980). Thus, recent efforts to more effectively sanction and control violent offenders and other "serious" juvenile delinquents emanate from a belief that, if we begin to treat juveniles as adults, punishment will be assured and youth crime deterred and reduced.

The juvenile justice system thus finds itself at a critical crossroads in determining the types of policies and interventions best suited for violent juvenile offenders. At issue is whether dispositions for this subset of the delinquent population shall focus on rehabilitation and treatment or on punishment, accountability, and community protection. The issue may be resolved on the basis of whether viable options for these youth can be developed and documented. There is growing evidence that a few programs can effectively work with "serious" juvenile offenders within the structure and philosophical foundation of the juvenile court, while also providing for community safety and the public's demand for punishment (Mann, 1976; Neithercutt, 1978; Alexander, 1980). The refinement and expansion of such programs is the major focus of the current violent juvenile offender initiative.

Background & Purposes of the Program

The 1980 Senate amendments to the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 (Public Law 96-509) were first introduced in the "Violent Juvenile Crime Control Act of 1980." Both the title of the bill and the introductory remarks accompanying it reflect the fact that concern with this small but troublesome subset of the youth population had reached the highest levels of national policy:

If we can take the first-time minor offender and prevent him or her from committing even more serious offenses, we will have gone a long way toward controlling our problem with violent offenders. In the same vein, however, . . . some youthful offenders must be removed from their communities for society's sake as well as their own. The secure incarceration of youthful offenders should be reserved for those youths who commit serious, violent offenses and cannot be handled by other alternatives (emphasis added). (Congressional Record, March 1980)

The 1980 amendments direct the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) to develop programs aimed at curbing violent crime by juveniles. Through OJJDP, "the juvenile justice system should give additional attention to the problem of juveniles who commit serious crimes, with particular attention given to the areas of sentencing, providing resources necessary for informed dispositions, and rehabilitation" (PL 96-509). A clear implication of this legislation is the designation of funds previously allocated broadly to youthful offenders (including status and minor offenders and early intervention in delinquency) toward special programming for violent juvenile offenders.

OJJDP has developed the current Violent Juvenile Offender Research and Development Program in response to these Congressional mandates and to the need for further knowledge on

effective alternative interventions for violent youth. The developmental process for this initiative began in 1978 under the OJJDP Assessment Center on the Juvenile Justice System. In January 1980 OJJDP brought together researchers, attorneys, youth workers, and juvenile justice professionals in a Special National Workshop on the Serious Juvenile Offender to review the Assessment Center data and research. Topics included definitional, programmatic, and policy issues on serious juvenile offenders. The workshop recommended that a research and development program be initiated to test strategies for identifying, screening, adjudicating, treating, and reintegrating violent juveniles, with the ultimate goal of preventing further violence.

Program Goals & Objectives

The goals of the Violent Juvenile Offender Research and Development Program include:

- to test an intervention model for the treatment and reintegration of violent juvenile offenders that is designed to reduce violent crimes committed by youths in the program;
- to assess strategies for increasing the capacity of the juvenile justice system to handle violent juvenile offenders fairly, efficiently, and effectively; and
- to build knowledge about violent juvenile crime and violent youth to aid in the design of future programs aimed at reducing violent juvenile crime.

The Research & Development Model

The major purpose of the initiative is to develop and implement a research design for testing intervention strategies and resolving some of the previous shortcomings in research on treatment effects. The research and development program should permit the testing of strategies in a programmatic setting and with an experimental design that attends to hypotheses, variables, data collection methods, sampling, and analytic techniques that meet social research standards for rigor and validity.

Assessment of treatment effectiveness has proven historically elusive. Definitive research or evaluation findings result from carefully controlled studies that attend to several critical design considerations: specification of theory and assumption, appropriate treatment and measurement that operationalize theory, research design and sampling that minimize spurious effects or confounding variables, and analytic methods of sufficient power and sensitivity to measure incremental as well as major effects. Numerous "evaluations of evaluations" have cited weak methodology, inappropriate measures, or poor analytic approach as causes for skepticism about claims of treatment effectiveness. Moreover, a poor yield from criminal justice research results more often from a "poverty of theory

than a dearth of methodological skill" (Glaser, 1973). The tendency to conduct criminal justice research as evaluation of practice or policy rather than theory impedes the accumulation of empirical knowledge. To the extent that theory is not tested, knowledge remains limited, and correctional practice cannot be improved.

The research and development program will be designed to address research questions and test intervention strategies generated from delinquency theory, empirical knowledge of violent juvenile offenders, and current intervention and treatment practices. Projects will be designed to link theory to practice, and data will be gathered to develop information on the efficacy of theory-based strategies for intervening with violent delinquents.

The Program Development Process

OJJDP has contracted with the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD) to develop and implement the model projects to be tested under the research and development program. These two agencies have worked closely with the URSA Institute (UI), the evaluator, and the National Office for Social Responsibility (NOSR), the technical assistance provider for the research and development program, to identify and document project models and elements to be tested. The program development process has included several steps:

- 1) a review of the theoretical literature and empirical knowledge on interventions with violent juvenile offenders;
- 2) site visits and documentation of alternative approaches and interventions in several juvenile corrections agencies and privately operated programs; and
- 3) a synthesis of research data with program knowledge to develop the model projects to be tested and identify the elements comprising the intervention strategies.

The results of this process are the program elements, including their theoretical underpinnings, described in chapter 5 of this paper. This review of intervention theory and program elements is intended to provide an overview of the competing theories and corresponding correctional practices to be tested in this research and development initiative.

Defining the Violent Juvenile Offender

The continuing debate about exactly which youths are violent juvenile offenders provides an important rationale for adopting a clearly articulated definition (Zimring, 1978). To be most useful for practice and policy, theory-based research should focus on a theoretically differentiated category of subjects and situations (Glaser, 1973). Juvenile justice definitions of and

responses to serious offenses/offenders are not uniform; indeed, they vary significantly between jurisdictions and even more critically, between different agencies within jurisdictions. A central concern in the research and development program, therefore, is to standardize the actual, working definition of serious, or violent, offenders employed by key discretionary decision makers in the juvenile justice system. In order to maximize the validity of the research findings from this program, therefore, a precise definition of "violent juvenile offender" must guide the sampling plan and study design.

Accordingly, the following definitions have been adopted for the research and development program:

- Violent--the offenses of first and second degree homicide, kidnap, forcible rape, sodomy, aggravated assault (either with a weapon or resulting in serious bodily injury), armed robbery, and arson of an occupied structure.
- Chronic--an adjudicated violent instant offense and at least one prior adjudication or conviction for a violent offense other than first degree murder of a non-family member. (For first degree murder of a non-family member, no prior history is required.)
- Juvenile--a person under 18 years of age.
- Offender--a juvenile committing the instant violent offense prior to age 18, and having been adjudicated delinquent or received a finding of involvement in juvenile court, or found guilty in adult court.

Purposes & Organization of the Background Paper

This background paper is intended to provide a theoretical and conceptual framework for the design and testing of alternative intervention strategies for violent juvenile offenders. Central to this task is the identification of research issues and questions for the research and development program, and the analysis of the empirical data that have informed the development of the research questions and the program strategies to be tested. The background paper, therefore, has two major purposes:

- to summarize current knowledge about juvenile violence, including the demographics, psychosocial characteristics, offense histories and careers, victimization patterns, and justice system processing of offenders, and
- to review theoretical literature on delinquency and juvenile violence, summarize current knowledge on correctional programming for violent juveniles, identify promising program approaches, and identify a theory base for rigorous testing in the national research and development program.

The background paper is organized into five chapters. This introductory discussion is followed in chapter 2 by a review of current knowledge on violent crime by juveniles, offender characteristics, and the results of the significant cohort studies that have attempted to identify factors predictive of juvenile and adult careers of violence. Chapter 3 reviews current sociological and psychological theory on juvenile delinquency and violence, develops an integrated theory base for intervention, and summarizes the alternative intervention strategies suggested by the theory. Chapter 4 discusses juvenile justice handling of violent juvenile offenders, including a review of emerging policies for adjudication and disposition of these cases and offenders. Chapter 5 develops the linkages between the integrated theory base, the program elements to be tested, and the research design for the national effort.

In addition, an extensive bibliography includes references to most of the theoretical and empirical literature, both published and unpublished, to date on violent juvenile delinquency. The research design for the research and development program is included as an appendix.

2

Characteristics of Violent Juvenile Delinquency & Offenders

As public concern over violent juvenile crime has increased, so has research compiling data and information to more closely describe and define violent juvenile offenders. It is by now common knowledge that a "violent few" account for a disproportionate percentage of violent offenses committed by juveniles (Hamparian et al., 1978; Wolfgang et al., 1972; Alexander, 1980; Smith, 1980a and 1980b). However, there is little information other than aggregate data on demographics, offense patterns, psychosocial characteristics, and other descriptors to distinguish violent delinquents from other delinquents or to differentiate types of violent offenders.

This chapter reviews the current empirical knowledge about violent juvenile offenders, including data on incidence and prevalence of violent offenses by juveniles, offender characteristics, and victimization patterns. Studies which identify factors predictive of juvenile and adult violence are also reviewed.

Incidence & Prevalence* Approximately 19 percent of the nation's violent offenses are committed by less than 2 percent of the total youth population (Uniform Crime Reports, 1978; Schuster, 1978). Representing only 5-6 percent of delinquents (Wolfgang et al., 1972; Schuster, 1978), these violent few are responsible for 9 percent of the nation's murders, 34 percent of robberies, and 16 percent of both rapes and aggravated assaults (NCCD, 1980). With the exception of the latter offense category, these rates have not

*There exist a number of problems in ascertaining both incidence and prevalence. For example, various studies measuring the prevalence of violent activity by juveniles have used different definitions of violence or "serious" delinquency, thereby making comparability among studies difficult. Violent crime is defined by the Uniform Crime Reports as offenses of murder, forcible rape, robbery and assault. Wolfgang, Figlio and Sellin

increased over the last decade, following a significant upsurge during the 1960s (Zimring, 1979), and actually experienced a decline in the mid-1970s (Smith et al., 1980).

Juvenile violence is concentrated in the poverty neighborhoods of large urban centers (Thrasher, 1927; Shaw and More, 1931; Shaw and McKay, 1942; Curtis, 1978), although suburban rates have increased in recent years (Strasburg, 1978).

Violent juvenile offenses are committed most often at night. Thirty-seven percent are committed during the commission of another felony and 21 percent during gang warfare (Tinklenberg, 1979). Weapons (of which 18 percent are guns) are used in about 10 percent of incidents, and weapons use may be on the increase (Wolfgang et al., 1972; Strasburg, 1978). Serious injury results in 27 percent of the incidents (Wolfgang et al., 1972). While the evidence implicating substance abuse is not clearcut, at least one major study found that three-fifths of offenders take alcohol, either alone or with other drugs, shortly before the assault (Tinklenberg, 1979).

Offender Characteristics

Age & Sex

Older juveniles tend to be more violent than younger juveniles. Sixteen-year-olds appear to have the highest arrest rate for serious property crimes (Wolfgang et al., 1972; Gold and Reimer, 1975), while 17 years is the peak age for violent juvenile crimes (specifically, homicide and rape).

Juvenile violence is predominantly a male phenomenon. Hamparian et al. (1978) discovered in a Franklin County Ohio sample that boys outnumbered girls by nearly six to one. In a Manhattan sample, girls were involved in 22 percent of all juvenile arrests but only in 8 percent of arrests for major violent crimes (Strasburg, 1978). Violence by girls, however, has become more frequent (33 percent in Schuster, 1978) and more serious in recent years.

(1972) said that among juveniles, 6.2 percent committed violent offenses of homicide, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, and arson. On the other hand, Strasburg's definition of serious violence includes acts of homicide, forcible rape, robbery in which a weapon is used or the victim is injured; and assaults in which more than minor injury is inflicted (i.e., the victim is at least treated by a physician). Although it does not include attempted assaults, Strasburg's study does include attempted homicide, rape and robbery (with a weapon or where the victim is injured). Needless to say, the inclusion of specific crimes such as arson or attempted rape, homicide, etc., influences greatly the estimates of the incidence of violent crime.

Socioeconomic Status & Ethnicity

Prior research has identified a strong relationship between violent delinquency and both socioeconomic status and ethnicity (Wolfgang et al., 1972; Gold and Reimer, 1975; Hamparian et al., 1978; Curtis, 1978; Miller, 1976). Both the number and type of offenses are associated with socioeconomic status. Delinquent juveniles, and particularly those who are violent, are more often products of large urban ghettos than of more affluent communities. Similarly, minority youths--especially black and, increasingly, Latinos and Asian youths--tend to be arrested more often than white youths for violent crimes (Strasburg, 1978; Gold and Reimer, 1975; Hamparian et al., 1978; Roberts, 1976).

Family Structure & Dynamics

A central topic in delinquency research has been the family. The delinquent populations sampled by both Strasburg (1978) and Hamparian et al. (1978) included large proportions of youth from broken homes. This finding led Strasburg to conclude that a two-parent family offers some protection against delinquent behavior but "has little impact on whether the child will become violent" since 50 percent of the youths studied lived with both parents. "Other factors appear to outweigh family structure in that regard" (1978:57-58). "The consensus today seems to be that it is the quality of the parent-child relationship, not the number of parents in the household, that may be related to juvenile violence" (NCCD, 1980:12).

Significant family relationship variables associated with juvenile violence include family disturbance and turbulence (Sorrells, 1980; Mann et al., 1976; Cormier and Markus, 1978), deprivation of normal affection and exertion of enormous emotional pressure (Gardiner, 1976), poor supervision and harsh discipline (Farrington, 1978), lack of modeling of appropriate behaviors (Sorrells, 1977), involvement with the criminal justice or mental health systems (Cocozza, 1978), and physical and sexual abuse (Lewis and Pincus, 1979; Groth, 1980; Fagan et al., 1981).

Education

Much recent research has focused on the link between educational problems and delinquency (Bernstein and Rulo, 1972; Podboy and Mallor, 1978; Sawicki and Schaeffer, 1979). Learning disabled youth are more likely to be adjudicated delinquent than non-learning disabled youth (Broder, et al., 1979). Also, there is considerable evidence of strong associations between delinquency and poor performance on aptitude tests, poor grades, and student dislike of school. Many delinquents, both violent and nonviolent, are seriously lacking in cognitive skills development (Baker and Sarvin, 1965; King, 1975).

Career History

Violent acts appear to be, for the most part, occasional occurrences within a random pattern of delinquent behavior. About one-third of the violent youth population are chronic

offenders (five or more contacts with the police) (Hamparian et al., 1978) whose violent crimes constitute less than 10 percent of their total offenses (Wolfgang et al., 1972). Another third have no history of delinquency other than one violent offense (Schuster, 1978). Juveniles do not typically progress from less serious to more serious crimes (Hamparian et al., 1978) or engage in repeated acts of violence (Rector, 1978; Strasburg, 1978).

Psychological Characteristics

Strasburg (1978:68) has characterized violent juvenile offenders according to three psychiatric categories: (1) those who occasionally act out in an assaultive but not seriously violent manner, and who are not seriously disturbed; (2) those who are disturbed but not psychotic; and (3) the psychotic offenders. Of these groups, the last is by far the smallest in numbers; the largest is the neurotic category. Specific character traits frequently associated with violent delinquent behavior include poor cognitive functioning (Baker and Sarvin, 1956; King, 1975; Rector, 1978), lack of impulse control (Sorrells, 1977; Russell, 1973), low self-esteem, strong repressed feelings of rage (Strasburg, 1978), an inability to empathize, and sociopathology (Sorrells, 1977). Extremely violent youth exhibit problems in interpersonal relations, depression, antisocial attitudes, sexual problems (Cocozza, 1978), hallucinations, and neurological abnormalities (Lewis and Pincus, 1979).

Offender Subgroups

In the past decade, some research has been undertaken to study in greater depth certain subgroups of juvenile offenders. To date, such research has focused mainly on juvenile murderers, sex offenders and gang violence.

Juvenile Murderers. In his study of "kids who kill" in Alameda County, California, Sorrells (1977) found that juvenile homicide has increased markedly in recent years--in that county, from two to 20 murders over a five-year period. About one-third of the homicides occur during the commission of a robbery. In one-fourth of the incidents, the perpetrator is intoxicated. About two-thirds of the assailants carry the weapon used, suggesting that the predisposition to kill or injure may be present.

As in the violent juvenile population at large, almost all juvenile murderers are male and reside in poor neighborhoods. Half are 16 or younger, and two-thirds have had prior correctional involvement (Sorrells, 1977). Their family backgrounds are uniformly chaotic (Sorrells, 1980) and usually characterized by brutality and exposure to considerable violence; some have been sexually victimized by their parents (Tanay, 1973; Sendi and Blomgren, 1975).

The psychological profile of these offenders includes youths who are anxious and depressed, socially isolated, hostile and explosive, and those seemingly healthy and well-adjusted (Sorrells, 1977). Sorrells (1980) posits that the youthful murderer is likely to be (1) lacking the capacity to identify with other human beings; or (2) pre-psychotic and suicide-prone, killing as an expression of intense emotional conflicts; or (3) neurotically fearful, killing in overreaction to a genuinely threatening situation.

In a study of the social, psychological and emotional backgrounds of six juvenile murderers, Russell (1973) suggests that there are two distinct types. The first are those of nondisadvantaged socioeconomic backgrounds with serious neurotic conflicts who become caught up in a sequence of highly charged psychological circumstances culminating in a breakthrough of murderous impulses. The second type are of disadvantaged SES with a background of persistent emotional and social deprivation that has prevented their development of impulse controls, resulting in a violence-dominated life style.

Juvenile Sex Offenders. Recent research suggests that sexual offenses committed by juveniles are rapidly increasing. FBI statistics suggest that as much as 20 percent of all individuals arrested for rape are juveniles (Wenet and Clark, 1977), and referrals to a major urban juvenile court for felony sexual assault have increased by 50 percent in the past two years (Bernstein, 1979). Weisberg et al. (1979) note that in 1977, 11,250 persons under 18 were referred to juvenile courts nationally for forcible rape and other related sex offenses, and that almost half of these youth were 15 years or younger.

Literature on this problem is scarce, and much of what is known comes from studies of adult sex offenders. One such study indicates that a significant proportion of adult sex offenders began committing sex offenses while they were juveniles, but that these offenses went unreported or untreated (Deles, 1978). Youths tend to commit the same sexual offenses as adults. One-fourth of the offenses committed are violent, involving coercion by threat or physical violence (Wenet and Clark, 1977). Their victims are both children and adults.

The limited data describe several characteristics of the youthful sex offender. He is typically an adolescent male, ranging in age from 12 to 18 years. He is of average intelligence, although he manifests school performance below measured ability and has a history of behavioral problems. These youths come from all socioeconomic strata, reside in both urban and rural areas, and reflect the ethnic composition of the population at large. They frequently have histories of being abused, both physically and sexually. They are sexually naive, reluctant to talk about sex, and often misinformed. Similar to adult perpetrators, they manifest considerable denial of the sexual

offenses and responsibility for their acts (Wenet and Clark, 1977).

Recidivism appears to be high among youthful sex offenders. Noting a recidivism rate of 50 percent for juvenile rapists, Wenet and Clark (1977) point out that youth tend to repeat the same sexual offense for which they were originally caught.

Gangs. In a study of violence by youth gangs in 15 major American cities, Miller (1976) concluded that violence perpetrated by members of youth gangs is becoming more lethal and threatening a wider sector of people since the mid-1970s. Although the phenomenon is largely confined to major metropolitan areas, gangs may account for as much as one-third of violent juvenile crime in the cities. New trends include the increasing terrorization of schools, use of guns as well as other weapons, and victimization of innocents in addition to fighting each other.

Gang members are predominantly males aged 10 to 21, reside in low-income communities, and are members of ethnic minorities, typically black or Latino but also increasingly Asian (Miller, 1976). Girls appear to be joining gangs in increasing numbers (Duran, 1978). Joining a gang is usually the result of peer group pressure and the adolescent's desire to fulfill belonging and status needs (Duran, 1978).

Victimization Patterns

Available data on the types of persons victimized by violent juveniles describe two distinct groups. On the one hand, national data (McDermott and Hindelang, 1979; 1977 National Crime Survey in Alexander et al., 1980) indicate that a majority of these victims--perhaps as much as 60 percent--are other youth, often of the same SES and ethnic minority group. On the other hand, Tinklenberg's study of California youth (1979) found that victims are often older Caucasians. Almost half of the victims are completely unknown to their assailants; another 39 percent are casual acquaintances (Tinklenberg, 1979).

Prediction of Violent Juvenile Behavior

As Monahan has noted in his review of prediction research on violent juvenile behavior, "prediction of future behavior is an integral part of the 'rehabilitative ideal,' and the 'rehabilitative ideal' is the essence of juvenile justice" (1977: 148). The findings of such research should be pivotal information for both dispositional and intervention decisions. Prediction studies have only been able to identify correlates or descriptions of violent juveniles in the aggregate; they have not succeeded in identifying variables that predict initial, random, or career violence by juveniles.

Prediction studies of juvenile violence fall into two distinct groups. The first, focusing on the childhood precursors of adult violence, attempts to identify developmental factors that lead to adoption of a violent life style as an adult. The second group has a more limited time frame; it seeks to discover what predicts future crime as a juvenile, i.e., recidivism. Most of the research has been of the first type, although the second has greater implications for correctional programs.

Early Childhood Indications of Violence

Some childhood development studies have claimed that adult violence is predictable from such childhood variables as pyromania, enuresis, and cruelty to animals (Hellman and Blackman, 1966); fighting, temper tantrums, school problems, and inability to get along with others (Justice et al., 1974); and maternal supervision and discipline, and family cohesion (Glueck and Glueck, 1950). A more recent study by Lefkowitz et al. (1977) found that aggression at age 8 is the best predictor of aggression at age 19. The father's upward social mobility, the child's lack of identification with parents, and preference for violent TV programs were also weakly correlated with adult aggression. Several studies have found strong relationships between abuse as a child and later aggressiveness and violence (Fagan, et al., 1980; Luhl, 1981), and specifically during adolescence (Alfaro, 1978).

Prediction of Chronic Violence

Numerous cohort studies have attempted to identify the predictors of repeated or chronic juvenile violence (Lefkowitz, 1980; Polk and Schafer, 1972; Wolfgang et al., 1972; Hamparian et al., 1978; Strasburg, 1978; Shannon, 1980). Sample differences and variations in definitions distinguish these studies, but some common themes emerge. Violent offenses are randomly distributed among the total array of offenses in each youth's career. Age of onset was not found to be a reliable predictor in two of these studies (Hamparian et al., 1978; Shannon, 1980), although Polk and Schafer (1972) found that it predicted adult crime, irrespective of level of violence. Other variables identified as strongly predictive of juvenile violence include sex, race, and SES and, to a lesser extent, educational achievement, IQ, and residential mobility (Wolfgang et al., 1972). However, a limited recidivism study did not substantiate the predictive power at the individual level of any of the foregoing variables or a number of others (Schlesinger, 1978).

The most comprehensive cohort studies (Wolfgang et al., 1972; Shannon, 1980) found that history of actual violence is the best available predictor of chronic juvenile violence. However, only one youth in every 20 predicted to become violent actually becomes violent. In other words, past violence is the strongest among numerous weak predictors of violence. Attempts to clinically predict recidivism on the basis of psychologically diagnosed dangerousness (Kozol et al., 1972; Coccozza and Steadman, 1976) and Legal Dangerousness Scale scores in

combination with age (Cocozza and Steadman, 1974) have resulted in similar problems of overprediction, generating between 54 and 99 percent false positives.

Despite numerous studies on delinquent careers, criminologists are still unable to predict which juveniles will engage in violent crime, either as adolescents or adults. While certain characteristics seem to affect the probability of a juvenile's committing a violent crime (see the Wolfgang et al. findings above) and past violence increases the probability of future violence, none of these variables serves as a good predictor at the individual level. Given the weakness of psychological variables in predicting violence (Megargee, 1970), Monahan argues for the use of actuarial data (i.e., demographic variables) to determine risk factors for violent delinquency (1977:15).

3

A Theoretical Model for Intervention with Violent Juvenile Offenders

The purpose of this chapter is threefold:

- to review and assess the major research and theories on the causes of juvenile delinquency and violence;
- to develop a theoretical model for intervention that builds on existing theory and incorporates the socio-demographic data on violent offenders; and
- to examine and review evaluation data and research on the various alternative intervention strategies that derive from the theoretical model for intervention.

Theories of Delinquency & Violence

Over the past thirty years and particularly during the past decade, a number of theories have been advanced and modified to explain the causes of juvenile delinquency and, to a lesser extent, violence. Although there are several major schools of etiological thought and, often, many variations within each, two primary thrusts dominate both past and present research. One orientation focuses primarily on the individual personality. In this view, youth become delinquent through a predisposition (physical or psychic) and/or developmental trauma. This psychogenic thrust is evident in positions that ascribe the motivation for delinquency to such causes as faulty family interaction patterns, instinctual aggressiveness and neurological dysfunction. The second orientation stresses the contribution of social, economic, cultural, and situational factors in the development of delinquent behavior. These sociogenic theories address the correlation of high delinquency rates with rapid population turnover, minority and low-income status, and social disruption as reflected in broken homes, suicide, alcoholism, and child abuse and neglect.

More recent theoretical research and development has tended to borrow from both orientations, as will become apparent in the following review of the four major schools:

- biological theories;
- psychological theories;
- sociological theories; and
- learning and behavioral theories

Biological Theories

The social and behavioral branches of biology have provided a number of theories about human aggression and violence. Foremost among these is the ethological perspective, which holds that urban violence has the same biological basis as instinctive territorial fight of animals (Lorenz, 1966). According to this school of thought, the weakening of the social structure and of ties between the child and adult in family, school, religion, and government creates a cultural vacuum in which aggressive instincts are no longer controlled.

Sociobiological theories view delinquency and violence as products of interaction between brain dysfunction and environmental factors (e.g., Rothman et al., 1976). Recent research in this view has focused on the links between delinquency and learning disabilities resulting from brain dysfunction (Unger, 1978; Bernstein and Rulo, 1976; Sawicki and Schaeffer, 1979; Podboy and Mallory, 1978; Juvenile Justice, 1972; Kvaraceus, 1965) and between violent behavior and substance abuse (Ever, 1978; Boe, 1971; Andrew et al., 1976; Wenk, 1976; Bench and Bar, 1978; Tinklenberg, 1979). Research on this theory orientation is fairly recent, and there is little data to elaborate or validate this model.

Psychological Theories

Traditional psychological studies of delinquency and violence have been concerned with intellectual structure, physiological constitution and personality characteristics. Recent research indicates that while delinquents do not differ significantly from non-delinquents in general intelligence (Siebert, 1962; Caplan, 1965), they do exhibit specific differences in cognitive functioning. Delinquents, for example, use relatively few perceptual categories in viewing the outside world, are less able to tolerate ambiguities, and tend to deal with others as if they were "mirror images" of themselves (Baker and Sarvin 1956). Homicidal youth appear to rely quite a bit more on emotion than logic to interpret the world (King, 1975). Physiological research has found some evidence of physical difference among delinquents, including a physique tending toward the mesomorph (relatively muscular) (Sheldon, 1949; Glueck and Glueck, 1950b), physical immaturities (Stafford-Clark, 1951), and neurological disorders (Ostrow and Ostrow, 1946; Lewis and Pincus, 1979).

Personality studies have characterized delinquents as highly "present-oriented" (Siegman), emotionally disturbed (Hathaway and Monachesi, 1953), inadequately socialized, less responsible and self-perceived trouble-makers (Dinitz et al., 1958). Quay (1965) has categorized delinquents into three types--socialized,

neurotic and psychopathic--that, he maintains, differ from each other and have distinctive personality characteristics. Studies of violent juveniles have revealed a comparative lack of impulse control (Sorrells, 1977; Russell, 1973), social alienation and desire for immediate gratification (Vachss, 1979), an overpowering fearfulness (Sorrells, 1980), and greater needs for personal space (Boorhem and Flowers, 1977).

Perhaps most useful for intervening with violent juvenile offenders is psychology's classic causal theory of violence. Similar to the biological view, Freudian-based theory holds that humans possess a basic instinct-aggressive drive, controlled in most individuals through the actions of the ego and superego. In some individuals, however, childhood trauma or other developmental problems disable these psychic control mechanisms. According to one version of this analysis, the violent youth cannot control his or her own aggressive impulses due to poor ego strength, ego decomposition, or immature (underdeveloped) ego (Schoenfeld, 1971). A more recent theory positing the episodic discontrol of aggressive impulses may be a more powerful explanation of juvenile violence (Sorrells, 1977).

Sociological Theories

Three major classes of sociological theory are relevant for conceptualizing the genesis of serious juvenile offenses:

- Structural/strain theories, exemplified by the concept of differential access to opportunities;
- Cultural theories, represented by the ideas of subcultures of violence and differential association; and
- Control theories, which view criminal conduct as a product of the breakdown in ties to the conventional order.

A fourth class of sociological theory, the societal reaction (or labeling) concept, does not address causal issues but views delinquency as a result of the processing of youths by the juvenile justice system.

Structural/Strain Theories. Built on Merton's general anomie theory of deviance (1957), the structural/strain approach assumes that delinquent behavior is a result of socially induced pressures rather than individual pathological impulses. According to Cloward and Ohlin's (1960) formulation, delinquency arises out of the discrepancy between socially generated desires and the socially structured opportunity for their gratification. Experiences of blocked opportunities, primarily among lower-class youth, result in intense frustration, alienation, and exploration of nonconformist alternatives such as delinquent behavior. The limited application of this theory to youths of lower social class--its main weak point--has been overcome in the more recent work of Elliott and Voss (1974), who focus on individual

goals as well as opportunities. This extension of strain theory cites self-report delinquency data showing that middle-class youth are as likely as low-SES youth to aspire beyond their means and, thus, to experience aspiration-opportunity disjunctions leading to frustration.

Empirical tests of strain theory are generally supportive, indicating that these hypotheses explain as much as 30% of delinquent behavior (Elliott and Voss, 1974; Brennan and Huizinga, 1975). Still, there is much delinquent behavior that it does not account for, including violence. Even borrowing the frustration-aggression hypothesis from psychology, research has not proven conclusively that frustration leads to general aggression (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967) or to particular violent acts (e.g., homicide; Henry and Short, 1954).

Cultural Theories. A second group of sociological theories conceptualizes delinquent and violent behavior as the outgrowth of conformity to a distinctive set of cultural beliefs, values or definitions. The most sophisticated expression of this approach is the theory of subcultures of violence. Composed of young-adult, non-white males and accounting for much of both serious crime and homicides, these subcultures are natural social groups that conform to cultural values emphasizing violence. According to Wolfgang and Ferracuti, "the greater degree of integration of the individual into this subculture, the higher the probability that his behavior will be violent in a variety of situations" (1967:152). Central to this theory is the proposition that the "development of favorable attitudes toward, and the use of, violence in a subculture usually involve learned behavior and a process of differential learning, association, or identification" (160).

While this theory helps to account for the phenomena of gang violence and prevalence of violent delinquency in minority ghettos, it is not supported by empirical research, which shows that valuing violence does not necessarily result in violence (Ball-Rokeach, 1973) and that the value systems of violent and nonviolent youth offenders are basically the same (Poland, 1978). Further, subculture and differential association theories cannot adequately explain anomalies such as the non-delinquent youth from a high-crime neighborhood or the serious offender from a "good environment."

Control Theories. Social control theory views delinquent behavior as the result of a lack of internalized normative controls (i.e., beliefs and attitudes), the attenuation of previously established controls (i.e., external social restraints), and/or conflict between controls to criminal behavior. According to Hirschi, these "control theories assume that delinquent acts result when an individual's bond to society is weak or broken" (1969:16).

One version of control theory identifies a "neutralization" process whereby youth who are committed to conventional views of morality learn certain rationalizations that free them from the constraint of such views and create a suspended condition in which misconduct becomes a viable option (Sykes and Matza, 1957; Matza, 1964). This approach is highly situational, depicting the delinquent as adrift in a moral vacuum in which immediate contingencies and pressures shape illegal behavior. Rationalization before the commission of a delinquent or violent act enables youths to neutralize moral or legal controls and, therefore, to act out illegally. While it is thus able to account for much violent behavior, the theory does not adequately conceptualize why neutralization occurs, given that the "will to delinquency" arises after, rather than before, neutralization (Hirschi, 1969). Neutralization does, however, explain data describing violence as a random occurrence in a general pattern of delinquent behavior.

The containment approach focuses on defective socialization to account for the lack of insulation from deviant cultural "pulls." Reckless (1956, 1961) has identified both inner (personal) as well as outer (social) controls that constrain or restrain criminal temptation. A number of delinquent characteristics--poor self-concept, lack of commitment to long-range legitimate goals, unrealistic or extravagant aspirations, low tolerance of frustration, a hostile set of beliefs toward the law and its agents--are cited as evidence of inadequate inner controls. External, or social, controls refer to the role of sanctions from family, school, peers, and the law in the socialization process.

Perhaps the most complete statement of control theory is Hirschi's (1969) argument that attachment to conventional persons, commitment to conventional pursuits, involvement in conventional activities, and belief in conventional values reduce the likelihood that a youth will engage in delinquent conduct. Hirschi found that attachment to parents is strongly associated with resistance to delinquency, and that involvement in conventional activities such as doing homework is negatively related to involvement in delinquent acts. Moreover, Hirschi reports that boys tend to "have friends whose activities are congruent with their own attitudes," (159) such that boys with a large stake in conformity tended not to have delinquent friends and, even if they did, not to commit delinquent acts. On this evidence, Hirschi argues that inadequate socialization leads to having low stakes in conformity, which in turn leads to the acquisition of delinquent friends and to delinquent behavior. Low stakes in conformity is the result of weakened bonds (attachment, commitment, belief, involvement). Youngsters are then free to engage in delinquent behavior because the socialization process has not developed bonds of sufficient strength to reinforce conformity.

Labeling or Societal Reaction Theory. Focusing primarily on the identification and processing of offenders through the juvenile justice system, societal reaction theory does not explain the behaviors that lead to the application of labels (or to the initiation of a reaction). Rather, assuming that a particular act has brought a youth to the attention of this system, societal reaction theory is concerned with differential processing or treatment of such offenses and its effects on future behavior.

Thornberry (1973) found strong evidence of significant differences in the dispositions of juveniles by the police and juvenile court on the basis of race and SES. Interestingly, for offenses of high seriousness, differential treatment on the basis of race does not hold for juvenile court intake screening but does for police decisions to charge or dismiss (among serious offenders, 70 percent of blacks vs. 49.6 percent of whites were referred to juvenile court) and for ultimate court disposition (42.8 percent of the serious black offenders vs. 25.6 percent of the whites were incarcerated rather than given probation) (263). Similar tendencies appear with respect to high and low SES (265). Contrary findings indicating no significant differential treatment on the basis of race and/or SES have been reported in a number of studies of decision-making at different stages in the juvenile system (McEachern and Bauzer, 1967; Black and Reiss, 1970; Terry, 1967; and Weiner and Willie, 1971). Whether such differential treatment is predictive of subsequent violent behavior has not been empirically tested.

Learning and Behavioral Theories

Learning and behavioral theories of violence and aggression propose that people are not born with repertoires of aggressive behavior but learn this behavior largely through observation, which is refined through reinforced practice (Bandura, 1977). That is, delinquent behavior is learned when it is rewarded or reinforced through social interactions. According to these theories, children learn to use violence as an interpersonal strategy and tactic modeled by their parents, peers, and social milieu (Bandura, 1969; Staats, 1975; Longer, 1976; Akers, 1977; Kozol et al., 1977).

Researchers who have studied familial determinants of anti-social activity report a higher incidence of familial aggressive modeling for delinquents than for non-delinquents (Glueck and Glueck, 1950; McCord et al., 1959; Sorrells, 1977). Parents who engage in violent acts, such as harsh discipline or child abuse, teach violence to their offspring (Silver et al., 1969; Hoffman, 1960; Lewis and Piscus, 1979; Farrington, 1978).

The youth's subculture provides a second important source of aggression. Various studies have located the highest rates of aggressive behavior in environments where aggressive role models abound and where aggressiveness is a valued attribute (Short, 1968; Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967).

A third source of aggressive behavior according to learning theories is the mass media, which provide symbolic models on which youths pattern their activities. Much empirical research has shown that exposure to televised violence increases interpersonal aggressiveness in youth and adults (Friedrich and Stein, 1973; Leyens et al., 1975; Park et al., 1975; Steuer et al., 1971), although it appears that situational and personal factors affect individual responses and susceptibility (Crawford and Campbell, 1976).

Theory Base for Interventions

The foregoing review of delinquency theory and supporting research shows that the current competing explanations of the causes of violent juvenile delinquency are in need of further elaboration and integration. Juvenile delinquency and violent juvenile crime are complex phenomena involving interactional, individual, situational, and environmental influences (Sadoff, 1978; Earls, 1979). Hawkins and Weis (1980), for example, reviewed ten self-reported delinquency data sets and concluded that there are multiple correlates and causes of delinquency operating within the institutional domains of family, schools, peers, and community. To the extent that any theory or set of theories fails to take into account each of these influences, its explanatory power--and, thereby, its usefulness as an intervention model--is limited.

Attempts to Integrate Theory

There have been several attempts recently to integrate theoretical explanations of juvenile delinquency. One common interface has been between social learning theory and control theory (Johnson, 1979; Akers, 1977; Conger, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979; Hawkins and Weis, 1980); others have integrated strain with control perspectives (Elliott and Voss, 1974). Elliott et al. (1979) have proposed a combination of the control, strain and social learning approaches. The dynamic relationships among the variables and processes of these integrated models present opportunities to intervene with both the "causes" of delinquency (via control theory) and the manner in which these causes operate in the social development context (via social learning theory).

In attempting to compensate for deficiencies in individual theories, however, these integrated approaches have been criticized for new weaknesses. Perhaps the most serious of these is the application of theories incorporating macrosociological variables (i.e., social conditions such as unemployment) to explain behavior at the individual level. Both strain theory and control theory, as originally conceived, apply systemic conditions to explain delinquent behavior in the aggregate, not the delinquency of individual youth (Kornhauser, 1978, 1979; Short, 1979). But data on individual differences indicate that individual behavior is mediated by other factors at the individual level (e.g., family, peers) (Conger, 1980).

Other critics have viewed integrated theory as a general theory subsuming partial theories, which will probably be very powerful but non-specific with respect to the range and types of behavior explained (Hirschi, 1979). Finally, integrated theory assumes that many of the explanatory variables (i.e., the causal factors) are independent of each other--an assumption that is risky. For example, socialization experiences vary with respect to social class. Thus, the process by which youths become delinquent or violent may not be independent of social-structural conditions. These relationships must be present in a fully developed theory (Conger, 1980).

Despite these criticisms, an integrated theory is best able to provide a valid explanation of violent delinquency by incorporating both empirical tests of the various theoretical perspectives as well as to the multiple factors and correlates specific to the target population of violent youth. An integrated theory can best address the following critical concerns for intervention with violent juvenile delinquents:

- Intervention theory should address both causal factors and behavior-change processes.
- Intervention theory should address only those factors that are identified both by current research on offenses and characteristics of violent juveniles and by the theory base(s) (thereby avoiding the criticism of integrated theory that it accounts for everything and explains nothing).
- Intervention theory must closely specify the outcome variable (i.e., violent behavior as distinct from other types of antisocial and illegal behavior) and accommodate critical contextual variables and individual differences in psychosocial development that may influence the likelihood of violent acts.

The Intervention Model

An integrated theory that addresses these concerns and is responsive to the criticisms outlined above includes both psychological and sociological approaches to violent behavior. It relies on properties of both the individual and the environment to explain behavior and simultaneously identifies factors on which to focus treatment and intervention. It specifies both the factors that underlie violent delinquency and the processes by which youths may become delinquent and/or violent. A diagram of this proposed theoretical scheme is shown as Figure 1.

The proposed model integrates control, strain, and social learning theories of delinquent behavior (as in Elliott et al., 1979). It identifies salient factors on which to focus intervention by describing the processes that govern both socialization and delinquent behavior development (Hawkins and Weis, 1980) and by specifying a motivational component (Conger, 1980). The

incorporation of individual differences addresses those causal roots of violence that cannot be easily explained within a broad conceptualization of delinquency. Thus, by specifying violence as the behavior to be studied, the intervention theory necessarily incorporates psychosocial factors unique to a population of violent youth (Sorrells, 1977; 1980).

Control theory informs the model with its two types of bonds --integration and commitment--which are the elements of socialization. (Elliott et al. reformulated Hirschi's original statement of bonds.) Integration, or external bonds, includes such variables as social roles, participation in conventional activities, and the presence of effective sanctioning networks. Subsumed in these variables are involvement in, and attachment to, conventional groups such as family, schools, careers, peers, etc. (Elliott et al., 1979). Commitment, or internal bonds, includes such variables as conventional goals, norms, and values; personal attachment to parents and peers; social identification; and feelings of control.

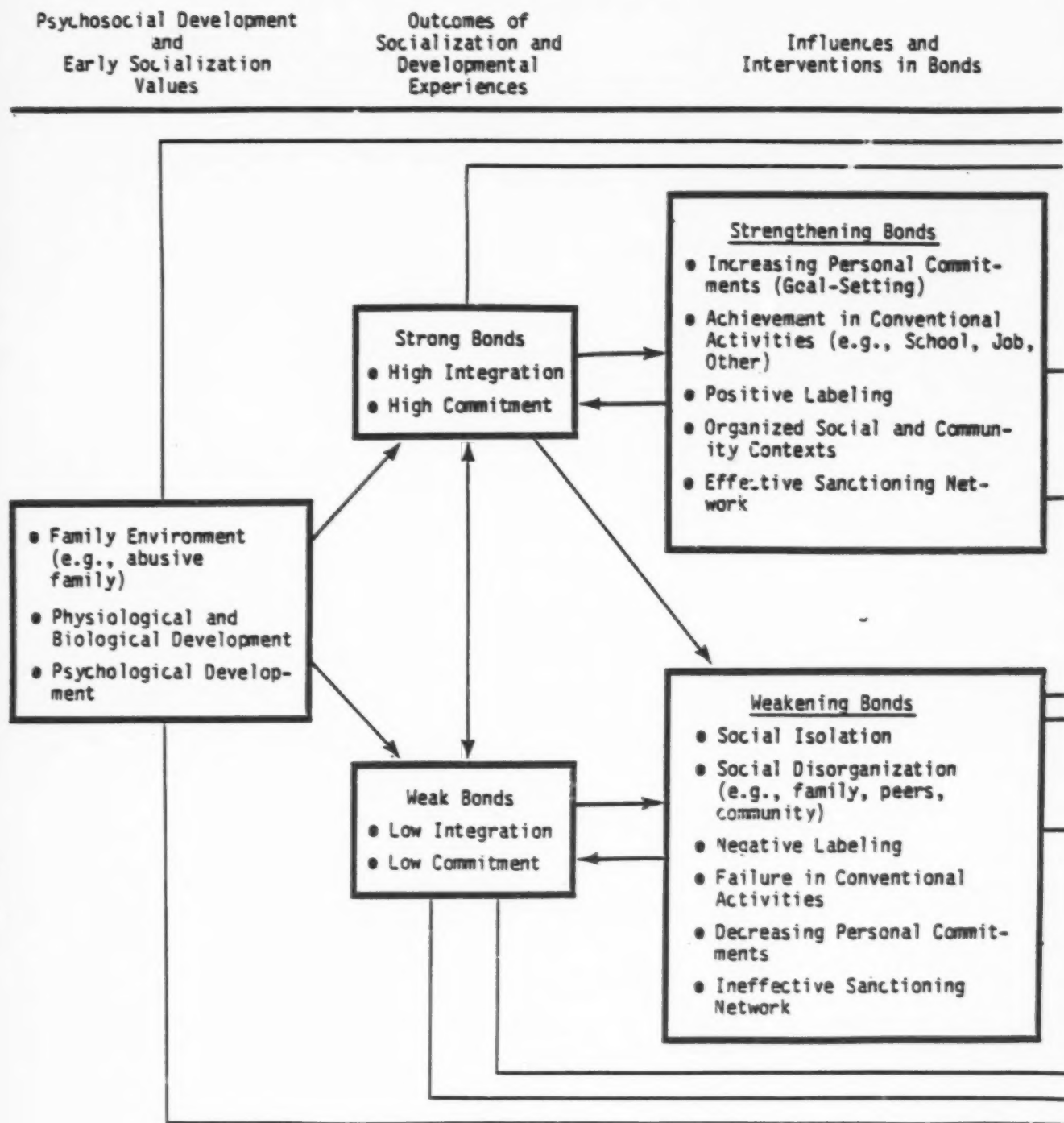
Strain and learning theory lend their focus on the processes (i.e., the specific experiences or conditions) that strengthen or weaken social bonds and allow for the "learning" of criminal values and behavior patterns vs. conventional values and behaviors. Attenuating processes include delinquent learning, negatively reinforcing failure experiences in conventional activities, blocked opportunities, and the effects of social disorganization at home, in school, or on the streets that threatens the stability and cohesion of one's conventional social groups. The learning component is also informed by certain labeling theorists who have noted the learning involved in the assignment of a negative label (Becker, 1963; Schur, 1973).

Psychosocial factors that account for many of the individual variables that distinguish violent youth as a subset of delinquent youth include such predisposing variables as violent families (Kuhl, 1980; Fagan et al., 1980; Alfaro, 1978), lack of empathy, and emotional disturbance (Sorrells, 1980).

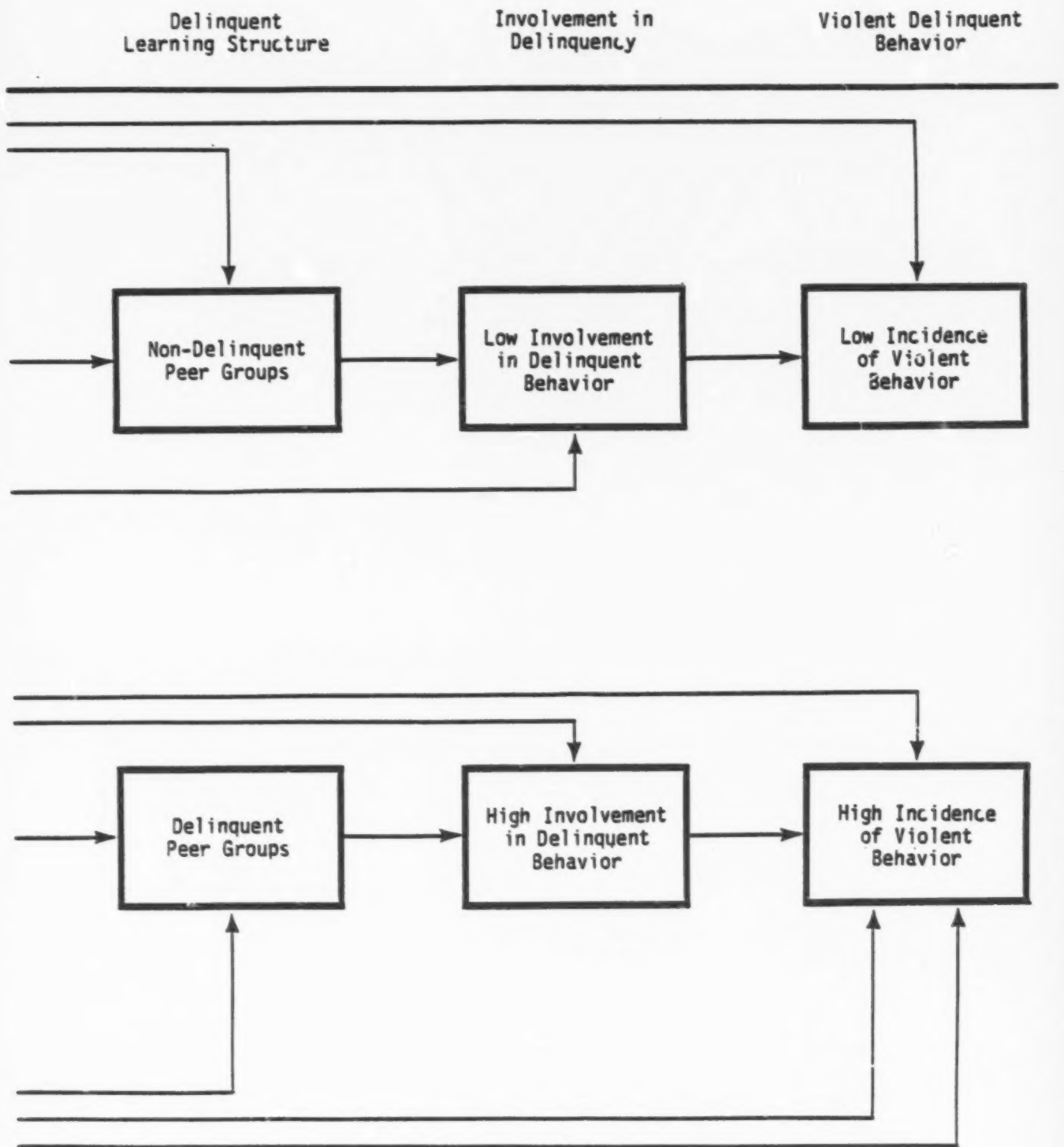
By including a process of delinquent socialization that is not tied to social class, this integrated model accounts for the distribution of self-reported delinquency data across social classes (Elliott et al., 1979). It prescribes factors on which to focus intervention: goals and opportunities, and the bonds of integration and commitment. It also prescribes a behavioral component (social learning) for intervention in the process of involvement in delinquent behavior. Finally, the inclusion of psychosocial factors introduces predisposing variables that may account for violent behavior in youths with either strong or weak bonds.

The intervention model suggests that youth become delinquent and/or violent in one of two ways. First, individual psychological factors or early socialization experiences can precipitate

FIGURE 1. A Theoretical Model for Violent



Juvenile Delinquency Program Interventions



outbursts of violence--the episodic dyscontrol described by Sorrells (1977; 1980). Second, youths can become delinquent and/or violent by a process of inadequate socialization. In this framework, social and personal bonds to "conformity" are underdeveloped or weakened, and youths are socialized (i.e., reinforced) to a delinquent lifestyle through peer influences. Hirschi (1969), in his formulation of control theory, suggests that peer influence is an important supplement to explain why delinquent behavior occurs when social bonds are weakened.

Social bonds develop in the units in which socialization occurs: family, school, law, and peers. If youths fail to develop social bonds within each of these units, they become free to associate with and be influenced by delinquent peers. Under such conditions, given individual factors, violent delinquency may occur. Even where youths have developed strong bonds, violence may occur due to individual factors.

How do strong bonds develop? Strong external bonds result from positive labeling and reinforcement through school or job achievement, involvement in activities perceived as important, and a positive family environment. Strong internal bonds develop from an effective sanctioning network, setting and attainment of personal goals, and a belief in self-determination and control over one's environment. These processes will be affected differentially by early socialization experiences (e.g., violence as model behavior) and psychosocial development (e.g., child rearing practices, child abuse, family cohesion). Violence can occur either when positive social bonds are weakened and the influence of violent delinquent peers becomes the youth's primary social bond, or when learned violent behavior from adult role models takes over under feelings of stress or conflict.

In summary, the intervention model identifies four underlying principles which operate on both internal and external bonds. As such, these processes are the natural strategies for intervention:

- Social Networking, including both socialization experiences and development of personal attachments, which together comprise internal bonds. This process specifies the development of positive role models and relationships with non-delinquent peers, personal and institutional or programmatic resources for support and assistance in times of stress, and development of alternative behaviors and cultures for social interactions.
- Provision of Youth Opportunities, including development of opportunities to successfully engage in positive behaviors and availability of roles and behaviors that can be positively recognized and reinforced. These are the units of external commitment. Interventions targeted at this process include such themes as empowerment, self-determination for aspired goals,

creation of realistic opportunities for vocational and educational achievement, and involvement in community institutions and activities.

- Social Learning, including the processes by which socialization occurs and methods for strengthening both external and internal bonds. Social learning processes include positive labeling and reinforcement and negative sanctions for illegal behaviors.
- Goal-Oriented Interventions, which specify the behavioral component of the intervention strategy, requiring setting behavioral goals that are realistic and achievable and specific to the youth's needs and abilities. This element also requires identification of special individual behaviors that may underlie violent delinquent behaviors (e.g., substance abuse, poor communication skills, self-defeating behaviors, sexual aggressiveness) and psychological problems.

Intervention Approaches

The implications of this theory base for interventions with and treatment of violent offenders are clear: as recommended by Sadoff (1978), effective intervention approaches must be multifaceted and individually oriented. Each offender must be thoroughly examined and assessed for contributing factors, which should then indicate a treatment program designed from an array of approaches focusing on the causes of violent delinquent behavior in the individual, in the situational settings of family, school and peers, and in the environment of the youth's community.

Intervention and treatment approaches currently used with violent juvenile delinquents can be broadly classified into counseling, individual psycho- and chemotherapy, family therapy, behavior modification, education, skill-building (vocational and work training), and social control (intensive probation supervision) efforts. The outcomes of these treatment approaches usually focus on institutional, community and vocational adjustment; educational achievement; reduction in drug and alcohol abuse/consumption; and personality and attitudinal changes. While these outcomes represent individual treatment outcomes for youths, they also represent intermediate objectives toward the ultimate goals of reducing recidivism, avoiding institutionalization, and returning juvenile offenders to the community with skills and attitudes that will prevent further delinquency. In addition to these treatment-oriented approaches, the juvenile justice system has also experimented with deterrence, prevention, and nonintervention to impact on juvenile delinquency.

Following is a brief description of each major intervention approach, its theoretical underpinnings and assessed effective-

ness, where known. Although none of these approaches (with the exception of a hospital-based psycho/chemotherapy strategy) has been tested in a program specifically designed for violent youth, they are all consistent with the intervention theory and data on violent juvenile offenders. Nevertheless, the absence of research data on the application and effectiveness of these approaches with this target group makes it difficult to critically evaluate the efficacy of the strategies.

Counseling

Implemented typically in a peer group format, counseling techniques include sensitivity training, guided group interaction, transactional analysis, confrontive and primal scream therapy. Such approaches are based on combined psychosociological theory, which suggests that exploring inner emotional and psychological states will assist the delinquent youth to work through sources of conflict and violence (poor self-esteem, parental conflict, antisocial attitudes, etc.). The method, form, and content of counseling programs vary widely according to each program's belief about the causes and cures of delinquency and violence. Twenty-eight studies encompassing over 1,800 youth found no lasting effects outside the program or institution of positive changes resulting from counseling (Romig, 1978).

Individual Psycho/Chemotherapy

Based on psychoanalytical theories and generally practiced on a medical model, chemical and psychiatric treatment is designed to restructure the personalities of juveniles diagnosed as mentally disturbed or disordered. The effectiveness of this approach is equivocal. On the one hand, Cocozza and Hartstone (1980) found that violent, mentally disordered offenders treated in a program using psychotherapy and chemotherapy fared better when released to the community than did a comparison group of youths who had been placed in more traditional state training schools. The experimental group youths were less likely to recidivate, committed less violent crimes, and had better self-concepts than the comparison group. In addition, a study of a program combining individual and group psychotherapy found that successful experimentals had a significantly lower rate of institutionalization and fewer offenses than controls (Perkins, 1967).

On the other hand, in a study of female delinquents, 94 subjects treated with individual and group psychotherapy did not differ significantly in recidivism from a control group (Adams, 1959). Furthermore, in his summary of ten studies involving 1,640 youth, Romig (1978) pronounced individual psychotherapy to be an unsuccessful treatment for juvenile delinquency and recommended individually oriented, behaviorally based therapy.

Family Therapy

Psychological, control, and social learning theories all suggest family interventions in delinquency and violence. These approaches are supported by empirical evidence implicating family dysfunction and violence modeling in the development of juvenile violence. Therapy approaches for families draw on group counseling and psychotherapeutic techniques as well as training in parenting skills. The objective of such approaches is to assist delinquent youth in overcoming family-related anti-social attitudes and behaviors and in establishing conventional bonds as well as to help the family develop healthier interaction patterns. Romig's review (1978) of 2,180 youths in 12 family therapy studies found no reduction in delinquent behavior, although the programs focusing on parent skills training (communication, problem-solving and disciplining) were deemed effective.

Behavior Modification

A direct outgrowth of social learning theory, behavior modification attempts to assist the juvenile offender to unlearn delinquent behavior and reinforce attitudes and skills supporting behavior acceptable to society. It attempts to teach accountability through negative sanctioning of illegal behaviors. The approach is less concerned with personal insights (as produced through counseling) and more interested in outward manifestations of correct conduct, frequently using intensive interaction with peers and authority figures as well as positive reinforcement programs and behavioral contracts to produce pressures and inducements to conform to societal expectations. Behavior modification is used in a wide variety of settings, including secure confinement, therapeutic communities, residential programs (such as group homes), and mental health settings. At least one group home employing behavior modification as the major intervention approach with juvenile delinquents has consistently reported promising results in terms of recidivism (Brankman et al., 1980). However, Romig's review of 2,000 youth in 14 programs found that, while certain basic behaviors (e.g., school attendance, classroom behavior) are altered under appropriate reinforcement and contingency contracting, "behavior modification is certainly no panacea for juvenile delinquency" (1978:20).

Education

Educational approaches address the problems identified by both psychological theory (relating to possible learning disabilities and poor cognitive skills development in violent delinquents) and strain theory (suggesting that aggressive delinquents are frustrated by their relative lack of access to opportunities due, in part, to their lack of education) as well as by research data correlating delinquency with educational underachievement and dissatisfaction. Promising approaches include understanding teachers concentrating on basic academic skills, individualized diagnosis and programming, specific learning goals, multisensory teaching, differential reinforcement, high-interest and sequenced material, and rewarding attendance initially. Nega-

tive results issued from such strategies as manipulation of teacher expectancies, participation as student aides, and role-model and Glasser-type discussion groups. Romig concluded that the educational approach using four or more of the successful components is likely to reduce recidivism (1978).

Skill Building

Strain theory suggests that vocational and work training will provide delinquents with the necessary tools for job attainment and upward mobility. Control theory would suggest that, as the delinquent obtains additional skills, s/he will use them in legitimate enterprises, thereby increasing his/her bond to society and decreasing his/her propensity to commit deviant acts. In his review of 12 studies of over 3,300 youth involved in programs based on these assumptions, Romig found that vocational training, work programs, and job placement are not effective in themselves in rehabilitating delinquents. Those programs that were successful provided job opportunities where advancement was possible (as a result of intervention or on-the-job training). Based on these findings, Romig recommends developing career programs that teach job advancement skills, provide support learning skills, culminate in a GED or diploma, furnish follow-up, and involve youth in systematic career decision-making (1978).

Intensive Probation Supervision

Intensive probation supervision is based on current "least restrictive alternative" policy and the belief that effective correctional service must be offered at the local level if it is to achieve greatest rehabilitative impact on the offender. "Subvention" (so termed because of the special subsidy required to probation departments) attempts to reduce recidivism through supervision that is both more intensive and characterized by greater interest, understanding, and empathy--i.e., that increases the youth's personal attachments. It affords community reintegration opportunities to develop external bonds through work, family life, and positive peer influences. It also includes a deterrent element, based on heightened surveillance.

As implemented in California, this approach increases services for offending youth and reduces institutional commitments, resulting in substantial net savings to state taxpayers; but it has not proved, statewide, to be any more effective than regular probation at reducing recidivism (California Youth Authority, 1975; Feeney et al., 1977). Subvention has, however, had positive impact on Los Angeles County juvenile offender recidivism (Adams, 1966), and a CYA statewide study (1975) found that all "high risk" and older (17-20 years of age) "medium-high risk" juveniles perform significantly better (as measured by lower rates of subsequent felonies) under intensive probation supervision than in CYA institutions.

- Deterrence** Social learning theory prescribes a sanctioning system that makes the consequences of violent behavior efficient, predictable and serious. One newer approach uses special prosecutors to more effectively and efficiently handle cases, usually focusing on a designated target population or category of offenses (e.g., career criminal programs). Such efforts typically feature special case screening and evaluation, investigation procedures, accelerated prosecution, limited plea bargaining, and post-conviction activities. Evaluations of California deterrence programs cite data to support claims of effectiveness in a pre-program/post-program comparison (Metametrics, 1980). New York programs have experienced problems in making sentences "predictable" and equitable (Roysher and Edelman, 1980). More extensive and longitudinal data will be necessary to assess the effects of alternative attempts at deterrence.
- Prevention** Prevention efforts are logically the most cost-effective long-range method of impacting on delinquency and, ultimately, youth violence. Based for the most part on an integration of control theory and social learning theory, one more promising prevention approach "seeks to provide opportunities for rewarding involvement in conventional activities, skills for successful participation and interaction, and clear and consistent systems of reinforcement for conforming behavior in all of the important units of socialization (family, school, peers)" (Hawkins and Weis, 1980:15). Of particular relevance to the present violent delinquent initiative are prevention efforts focused on "high risk" populations such as gang members. Methods have included increased security by law enforcement and other (e.g., school) officials and "streetwork" to decrease the opportunities for delinquent acts and increase the youths' conventional attachments. A gang violence prevention project in Los Angeles has showed mixed results, reporting reductions in gang-related homicides but increases in other violent incidents (CYA, 1980).
- Nonintervention/
Diversion** The concept of nonintervention is based in societal reaction theory and finds considerable support in the lack of conclusive evidence on treatment effectiveness. To avoid the stigmatization process that results from experiences with the juvenile justice system, whereby youths supposedly learn to label themselves as delinquent and behave accordingly, several researchers have suggested that youthful offenders be left alone whenever possible (Schur, 1973; Lemert, 1973). One longitudinal study of almost 500 delinquents found that maturation may be equally effective as efforts to deter or rehabilitate (Glueck and Glueck, 1950a).
- Programmatically, the "noninterventionist" philosophy supports attempts to divert youthful offenders from the more punitive aspects of the juvenile justice apparatus. Such programs have had mixed results in California (Palmer et al., 1978). Across various projects, recidivism was not significantly reduced for

youths with no prior arrests or for those with two or more priors; those with one prior arrest did perform significantly better than comparisons. Provision of intensive services emerged as a key variable in the three most successful diversion projects, two of which reported reduced recidivism with youths with two or more prior arrests.

Summary In his evaluation of this array of interventions with delinquent (not necessarily violent) youth, Romig (1978) offered a comprehensive list of those that have consistently achieved positive rehabilitation results. These include, broadly, learning approaches (e.g., contracting and socialization; sanctions for illegal acts); approaches that increase skills and external bonds (e.g., education, job training, aftercare and re-integration services); approaches that enhance internal bonds (e.g., counseling, family therapy, parent training); and approaches that focus on individual psychosocial problems (e.g., individual behavioral goals, problem diagnosis, communication skills). These approaches reflect the important elements of the theoretical intervention model and (allowing for Romig's caveats concerning the effectiveness of certain techniques within each approach) can be readily translated into specific program strategies. Their effectiveness in intervening with violent offenders must await testing through this research and development program.

4

Juvenile Justice Responses to Violent Juvenile Offenders

The integrated theory presented in chapter 3 shows the importance of ineffective legal sanctions in delinquency and juvenile violence. The absence of an effective mechanism for sanction and deterrence can erode social bonds by reinforcing delinquent and/or violent behavior. The nonsystematic, often unpredictable, and at times inappropriate response of the juvenile justice system to violent juvenile offenders is a significant factor in the onset and perpetuation of violent juvenile crime (Roysher and Edelman, 1980). The sanctioning process thereby becomes an important factor in the intervention model and presents a set of variables for inclusion in the research design to test the model.

This chapter has several purposes. First, data on juvenile court caseloads for violent delinquents are reviewed to provide an overview of the problem confronting the juvenile court. Caseload size and variation are examined with respect to juvenile court decision-making for disposition of these cases. Second, the factors affecting the processing of violent juveniles are examined to identify the variables that will describe and measure the effects of justice system handling of violent delinquents. Third, the chapter reviews the emerging legislation across the country that would impose new and harsher sanctions for violent juveniles, and/or treat them as adults. These adjudication issues constitute yet another set of variables for studying the effects of system processing on subsequent violent behavior and social functioning.

Juvenile Court Caseloads

Alexander et al. (1980) have exhaustively reviewed 1977 UCR data on arrests and court processing data from the National Center for Juvenile Justice.* Because NCJJ data merge simple

*Unless noted otherwise, all data cited in this section were originally discussed by Alexander, Smith and Rooney (1980).

assaults with aggravated or more serious assaults (thus excluding the distinction of injury or weapon use), they will overestimate the court caseloads in terms of the definition developed for the research and development program. Nevertheless, these data will serve as our most useful estimates of the violent offender population in the juvenile justice system.

Overall, juvenile arrests for violent offenses increased by 41.3% from 1970 to 1979, but decreased by 10.5% from 1975 to 1979. Yet, they increased by 2% from 1978 to 1979. Juvenile court intake data in 1977 show a decline in the number of arrested juveniles referred for intake (42.8 percent, compared to 54 percent in 1975). These figures include juveniles between seven and 17 years of age whose cases fell under the original jurisdiction of the juvenile court. These data suggest that police are more frequently using informal dispositions and/or are applying more stringent criteria for arrests.

Index offenses, including both property and person offenses, are generally referred to intake at the same rate as all offenses, and this trend has remained constant from 1975 to 1977. However, robbery arrests were more often referred to intake in 1977 than other offenses, indicating that the court regards these offenses as more serious. Arrests and referrals for non-index offenses increased from 1975 to 1977.

Disposition data for 1975 show that one-third of "person" offenses were dismissed, compared to over 40 percent of "property" offenses. Of those adjudicated delinquent, about one-third of "person" (i.e., violent) offenders and one-third of property offenders were given formal probation. However, more than twice as many violent offenders were committed to secure confinement (14.3 percent compared to 6.0 percent). Data for 1977 show that dismissals of violent offenses increased 16.6 percent over 1975, compared to a 7.6 percent increase for property offenses. Fewer violent offenders were given probation (7.1 percent decrease from 1975) or sentenced to secure confinement (5.3 percent decrease). However, commitments for property offenses increased by 1.5 percent from 1975 to 1977.

These data indicate that juvenile courts altered their dispositional patterns with respect to violent offenders from 1975 to 1977, despite the relative stability of violent offense arrests and the relatively small percentage of juvenile court caseloads comprised of violent offenders. The reasons remain unknown, but several potential hypotheses can be drawn. Given a national trend toward deinstitutionalization, the number of institutional beds may have decreased while community-based treatment resources probably increased. The involvement of defense attorneys in juvenile court proceedings may have influenced dispositional decisions, or perhaps the profiles of violent youth have changed. More detailed analyses of dispositions will be required to place juvenile justice system responses in a theoretical and practical perspective.

Miller and Ohlin (1980) have undertaken such an analysis, focusing on the decision to commit (and place in secure care) adjudicated delinquents and violent offenders. Comparing five dispositional and placement categories for a cohort of 447 youths committed to the Massachusetts Department of Youth Services in 1978, Miller and Ohlin found that the decision to place a youth in a secure correctional facility was based more on offense characteristics than behavioral characteristics of the youth. "Fairness" and equity are the guiding principles in these decisions, at the expense of attention to the youth's behavior (Miller and Ohlin, 1980). In the case of youth screened out of DYS into mental health placements, the decision was, by contrast, based on characteristics of the youth. For the mental health setting, decisions remain deterministic, and behavioral change the objective.

As these data demonstrate, exactly which offenders and offenses bring more severe responses varies across agencies and jurisdictions, and "seriousness" may be a function of the total caseload of a particular community or agency. In general, the definitions of "seriousness," and the more severe sanctions such offenses will carry, will reflect the frequency with which such offenses are encountered at a given point in the system. Data on court caseloads and dispositions for violent offenses must be viewed, then, as a function of the total court caseload and of the relative frequency and "severity" of such offenses as defined by the community.

Issues in Juvenile System Processing

The identification and labeling of violent juvenile offenders is a complex process, involving the decisions of several actors considering numerous factors often over extended periods and under intense public scrutiny. Miller and Ohlin (1980) regard the handling of violent juvenile offenders as the "bellwether of correctional philosophy, and at the center of the most important philosophical and ideological controversies." The importance for this initiative of the study of decision criteria for juvenile justice system processing comes from the 1980 amendments to the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act, which call for reducing sentencing disparities and providing resources necessary for "informed dispositions and rehabilitation." To advance these legislative goals, OJJDP has undertaken the development of several major sets of standards to assist local juvenile justice systems in ensuring the fairness and efficiency of the adjudication and disposition processes.* These standards, as well as the discussions below, will generate the issues and variables for the study of system processing of violent juveniles.

*See, for example, the IJA/ABA Standards Relating to Juvenile Delinquency and Sanctions and Standards Relating to

The Police

The police are the major source of referrals to the juvenile court and the larger juvenile justice system. One study reports that 73 percent of the referrals to a national sample of juvenile courts came from the police, with 8 percent from the schools, 4 percent from social service agencies, and 10 percent from parents and relatives (Hasenfeld, 1976a). To the extent that more states seek to keep status offenses out of the juvenile justice system, the input from the latter two sources can be expected to decline somewhat in the future. Moreover, most of the cases involving serious/violent offenses brought into the system are initiated by the police rather than by other referral sources.

Several issues in relation to police handling of violent juvenile offenders can be noted. First, the serious charges filed on arrest by the police reflect a significant degree of discretion. Observations of police arrest practices in California reveal, for example, that there are many cases where a "felony" designation is questionable, as in the decision to charge a youth with aggravated assault versus simple assault (Cicourel, 1968). It is safe to infer that the direction of the bias is toward over-representing "actual" minor offenses within the felony category rather than toward over-representing "actual" serious offenses within the misdemeanor category. This police tendency to "overfile" as a form of punishment often results in charges being reduced or dismissed at subsequent prosecutorial screening (Cicourel, 1968).

The conditions under which the police will fail to bring serious and violent offenses into the juvenile justice system also need to be investigated and explored. It is often suggested, for example, that where the victim of a serious crime is disadvantaged or disreputable, or where the victim is closely related to the offender such that the police see the situation as a family or relational matter, arrests will be discouraged. Parnas (1967) provides examples of both tendencies in a study of police response to (adult) domestic disputes, noting the following features of cases that increase the likelihood of arrest: serious injury; possession or use of a weapon; complainant demands for an arrest; an offensive attitude on the part of one of the disputants; a repeated call for police services; and the assessment of probable repeated incident or serious harm.

Dispositions--Tentative Drafts, 1977; National Advisory Committee for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Standards for the Administration of Juvenile Justice, 1980; American Correctional Association, Manual of Standards for Juvenile Community Residential Services, Juvenile Detention Facilities and Services, and Juvenile Probation and Aftercare Services, 1979.

Juvenile Court

Juvenile court processing of the serious juvenile offender results in severe responses along several critical dimensions of delinquency. Violent, as opposed to property, offenders within the serious category are accorded more serious treatment. Index as compared with non-index offenses and violent as opposed to property offenses are less likely to be dismissed, more likely to be placed on formal rather than informal probation, and more likely to be incarcerated rather than left in the community. However, the responses are often a function of decisions and procedures specific to each decision point in the juvenile court process.

Juvenile court response begins with intake screening. In the past, intake has most frequently been carried out by probation officers, although there is a current trend toward shifting this function to the prosecutor's office. The structure of intake would appear to have important implications for the response to violent offenses.

Intake and subsequent court responses to serious offenses are also importantly shaped by the more general orientation of court personnel. Sosin (1976) suggests that juvenile courts often are torn between the demands and goals of providing social services to youth on the one hand and of protecting the community on the other. It would be easy to assume that if a greater emphasis is placed on community protection, there is more concern with punishing and restraining violent and serious offenders, and there will be a more uniformly severe response toward such offenders. Similarly, it would seem that recent proposals to "criminalize" the juvenile court would closely complement community protection goals and would hence result in a more consistently severe response toward serious juvenile offenders.

Organizations and agencies with which the court routinely transacts (police, schools, social service agencies, etc.) exert the most direct and persistent pressure on its functioning (Emerson, 1969). Vulnerability to these pressures may increase the more the court pursues social service as opposed to strictly legal goals. As well as tending to undermine judicial autonomy in the ways stressed by Vinter (1967) and others, "increased susceptibility to local pressures generally pushes the court into restrictive, even punitive directions in accord with the recurrent control interests of the organizations involved" (Emerson, 1974:631). More social service-oriented juvenile courts may tend to direct their primary efforts to more "treatable" and, hence, in most cases less "hardened" and less serious offenders, in effect writing off the violent and serious delinquent as "hopeless" in terms of its own distinctive responses. Serious and violent juvenile offenders would thus tend to be particularly avoided and transferred elsewhere in or even out of the system (i.e., waived to criminal court or simply incarcerated). Punishment-oriented courts may direct their efforts to more serious offenders, and thus treat early or lesser offenders more leni-

ently, if at all. Thus, an ineffective sanctioning system would greet this early offender, with consequences for further delinquency.

Juvenile court procedures for identifying serious and violent offenders and for invoking severe responses need also to be examined in detail. Emerson (1969) has suggested several ways beyond the statutory features of the offense in which court staff identify a serious offense. First, delinquent acts that "evinced a high degree of commitment to illegal activity" suggest seriousness; "joy-riding" is thus distinguished from "grand theft auto" in that its goal appears as immediate personal gratification. In contrast, "any indications that the car is to be kept permanently, or sold or passed on to another party tend to indicate a high degree of involvement in a criminal way of life" (114). Second, "a delinquent's willingness to cause injury and harm to others in achieving his illegal end" signals a serious, violent offense. Here assessments of intent and anticipatable consequences come into play: accident or unforeseeable consequences may at least partially mitigate the seriousness of violence in some circumstances.

However, to the extent the court retains some concern with treatment or rehabilitation as opposed to more narrow legal responses, court staff extend their inquiry from the act per se into the wider moral character of the offender (Emerson, 1969). Whether the delinquent's offense is/might become part of a wider pattern of serious misconduct will dictate the court's assessment of his/her moral character and the severity of response implemented. Often psychiatrists are called upon to interpret both the motivation for serious misconduct and its relevance for moral character.

Finally, the juvenile court's assessments of seriousness and violence tend inevitably to differ in significant ways from such assessments made at other points in the justice system. Many community agencies view youth who have had contact with the court as "serious" delinquents to be avoided if at all possible (Emerson, 1969). Yet serious offenders in the juvenile court's view will appear routine and "normal" to other segments of the system that routinely deal with more serious caseloads. To send a juvenile accused of armed robbery to criminal court for trial as an adult, then, risks having that offense treated as not serious relative to the types of cases generally processed by that court.

Disposition and Sentencing

State legislatures and correctional agencies have recently undertaken significant changes of the juvenile justice system in response to a perceived rise in violent juvenile crime and the inadequacy of juvenile court handling of violent offenders. Designed to ensure that increased numbers of "violent" youth are placed in secure confinement for minimum periods of time, these changes are based on incapacitation theory and a "just desserts" model of punishment, and are part of a larger trend toward determinate sentencing of all offenders (Fogel, 1976). In addition, these changes can be seen as an effort to routinize and make predictable the consequences of violent behavior and "to heighten the credibility of the juvenile justice system and of the legal and moral code it is charged with enforcing" (Wilson, 1975). Thus, underlying current reform policy are principles of sanction and control as well as of retribution and deterrence.

These legislative and administrative responses represent a significant philosophical and policy shift away from support for the individualized decision process of the juvenile court, where dispositions are often made "in the best interests of the child." The recent enactments specify that court dispositions or correctional decisions be determined mainly by current offense and offense history, thereby eschewing the rehabilitative and deterministic principles of the juvenile court in favor of the punishment assumptions of the adult criminal justice process. This shift is in line with standards recently proposed by NAC and ABA/IJA. The courts and legislatures have generally recognized that violent youth are a small but significant and troublesome portion of youthful offenders. Changes in waiver, transfer, and correctional placement have focused on differentiating the dispositions and sentences for these youth, while retaining the rehabilitative ideal for other "non-serious" youth.

The general trend toward minimizing discretion and placing boundaries on the dispositional process has been pursued through two strategies. First, several states have enacted legislation to waive violent juvenile offenders to the jurisdiction of the adult court (Fisher et al., 1981). Waiver can either be discretionary (on the part of the prosecutor or the judge) or mandatory, where the statutes specify that certain offense/offender combinations shall originate in adult court.

Second, other states have anticipated the legislative attempts to ensure "punishment" for violent juvenile offenders in the adult system by revising youth authority guidelines for release decision-making. While retaining the youth in the juvenile justice system, the actions of juvenile corrections agencies can be seen as a move toward determinate and proportional sentencing. In several states, minimum periods of secure confinement have been specified either by statute or administrative rule. Legislation has been passed identifying some types of violent juvenile offenders or violent offenses as a separate and special part of the state's juvenile code. Such legislation may take the form of a separate violent offender statute or be

appended to a delinquency statute to mandate special dispositional treatment for an adjudicated violent delinquent. These codes apply in cases based on certain specified instant offenses and/or a certain offense category.

Waiver to Adult Court

Most states already have statutes that waive, bindover, transfer or certify juveniles to the criminal court to be tried as adults. Some states have statutory provisions mandating the transfer of juveniles for the commission of certain acts, while other statutes are discretionary and call on the juvenile court to decide whether the juvenile ought to be waived to the criminal court. Still other state statutes contain both mandatory and discretionary provisions contingent on the juvenile's prior history and nature of the instant offense.

Under the recent legislation, many states will now "waive" or "bindover" to the adult criminal courts juveniles who are charged with designated (often violent) offenses. Some statutes "allow" for the juvenile to become an adult for all phases of the prosecution, sentencing, institutionalization, and parole. Other states prosecute juveniles as adults for commission of a crime but will commit the youth back to the Youth Authority with a specific order for treatment and release. Another statutory approach involves lowering the age of a youth's qualifications to be under the juvenile court jurisdiction. Some states have determined that youth over 15 or 16 must be tried in the adult courts for any act considered a crime if committed by an adult.

In general, the legislative efforts to expand waiver of violent juvenile offenders to adult courts fall into three categories:

- mandatory waiver to adult court for designated offenses (legislative waiver)
- discretionary waiver to adult court for designated offenses (judicial or prosecutorial waiver)
- reduction in the age at which a juvenile qualifies for juvenile court jurisdiction for designated offenses

A current study of juvenile parole suggests that, in fact, several of the strategies described above are often integrated in a single state's approach (Fisher et al., 1981). The statutes for waiver or special dispositional treatment usually specify several criteria to guide the decision, including:

- alleged instant offense and the youth's age at commission of the offense
- prior offense history
- "interests of the youth and the community (i.e., dangerousness)"
- amenability to treatment

Two states illustrate the mandatory waiver statutes.

- In Connecticut if a youth 14 or over commits murder, or if a youth 14 or over commits a Class A or B felony and such youth has previously been adjudicated for a Class A or B felony, s/he must be transferred to the criminal court.
- If a youth 16 or over commits murder or attempted murder in Nevada, s/he must be transferred to the criminal court for prosecution as an adult.

In both cases, the youth would be committed to the Department of Corrections (adult), which would be responsible for placement and release.

Two other states best illustrate the statutes providing for discretionary waiver by the juvenile court.

- In Georgia the juvenile court may transfer a juvenile to the criminal court if the youth was at least 15 years of age at the time of an alleged act, or the youth was 13 to 16 years of age at the time of an alleged act for which the punishment is loss of life or confinement for life in the penitentiary. The Georgia juvenile court would consider the following criteria in deciding whether to transfer the juvenile:
 - Did the youth commit the alleged act?
 - Is the youth committable to an institution for the mentally retarded or ill?
 - Do the interests of the youth and community require the youth to be placed under legal restraints provided by the criminal court?
- In Michigan, a youth over 15 years of age, accused of any felony (based on criteria similar to Georgia's) may be waived to the criminal court and tried as an adult. If such a youth is tried as an adult, s/he is committed to the Department of Corrections (adult) if the sentence is for more than one year. If the youth is under 18 and the sentence is for less than a year, s/he may be committed to the Department of Social Service, which would determine placement.

Nebraska has discretionary transfer, but at the discretion of the prosecutor. Although there is no waiver per se in Nebraska, the criminal courts have concurrent jurisdiction over all juvenile acts (except traffic offenses), and the prosecutor decides where to file.

Special Dispositions

Two states illustrate statutes providing for special dispositions for violent juvenile offenders. One state allows discretionary special dispositions by the juvenile court. Another has a mandatory sentencing provision under the dispositional delinquency statute.

- Georgia has a Designated Offender Act which applies to any youth 13 or more years of age who has committed one of 10 designated violent acts. Under ordinary adjudications of delinquency in Georgia, the youth is committed by the juvenile court judge to the Department of Human Resources, Division of Youth Services, for two years (with one possible two-year extension). The division would then be responsible for the specific type of placement and the release decision. Under the Designated Offender Act, the juvenile court judge may order the youth put in restrictive custody for a specified period of time (12 to 18 months) as part of a five-year period of commitment to the Division of Youth Services. Under the act, the youth cannot be discharged from the custody of the division, unless a motion is granted by the court, and such a motion shall not be made prior to the expiration of three years of custody.
- Delaware has a mandatory sentencing provision of the dispositional delinquency statute aimed at the violent juvenile offender. Under a normal adjudication of delinquency, a youth is committed for an indeterminate length of time (until the age of majority) by the juvenile court judge to the Department of Corrections, where the type of placement is determined by the Bureau of Juvenile Corrections. However, following the adjudication of delinquency, the juvenile court judge may make specific commitment and placement decisions for a youth who has been adjudicated delinquent for a felonious act within the last 12 months and whose current adjudication is based on a felonious act. Under the mandatory sentencing provision, the youth is sentenced to six months in a secure setting. Additionally, after the initial six-month period, the youth must reappear before the juvenile court judge to determine whether s/he qualifies for a transfer to a non-secure program. The juvenile court judge, by statute, monitors the youth's stay within the Bureau of Juvenile Corrections. A youth committed under the mandatory sentencing provision cannot be released without the approval of the juvenile court judge.

Several states have moved toward mandatory sentencing, but under the control of the juvenile corrections agency or youth authority. In these states, the juvenile court no longer has jurisdiction in the case once the commitment is made.

The Arizona Department of Corrections has also developed a sophisticated length of stay programming guideline, which determines the amount of time, in a determinate sentencing fashion, that a youth is expected to stay within a particular institution under the control of the Department of Corrections.

The initial recommendation for placement is made by a diagnostic team, but length of stay is determined by the recently created Department of Corrections "Length of Programming Guidelines." The guidelines develop length of stay criteria based on severity of offenses committed by the youth, with primary consideration being given to whether the youth has inflicted, or threatened or attempted to inflict, bodily harm on other persons. Another lay criterion would involve the chronology of the youth's "criminal activity." The guidelines are philosophically committed to the "minimum time necessary for therapeutic progress" as balanced against "the community's needs to achieve protection."

Combined Mandatory Waiver & Sentencing Approaches

New York has enacted statutes to provide for mandatory waiver to adult court of juveniles charged with designated violent acts, and mandatory minimum periods of confinement in juvenile corrections facilities for youths adjudicated in juvenile court for designated violent acts. Moreover, New York also retains the "gray area" of "youthful offender" for youths 16 to 18 years of age adjudicated in criminal court. However, a youthful offender adjudication is not a criminal conviction; records are confidential, and, in general, sentences are shorter.

The New York statutes were enacted in two stages. The 1976 "Designated Felony Act" mandated minimum periods of secure placement for youths adjudicated delinquent in juvenile (Family Court) for certain violent acts. The youth remains under the jurisdiction of the youth authority (the Division for Youth--DFY). The 1978 Juvenile Offender Law mandated original adult (Criminal) court jurisdiction for juveniles of certain ages (as low as 13 for murder or 15 for other violent offenses) charged with designated violent felonies. The 1978 law also gave jurisdiction over these "JOs" to the DFY.

The JO law specifies mandatory minimum sentences in DFY facilities but also permits handling of JOs as "youthful offenders" with indeterminate sentences, or transfer of JOs back to Family Court. JOs 16 to 18 years old may be transferred by DFY to DOC with the permission of the court.

Thus, a wide range of sentences or dispositions can be invoked for the violent juvenile in New York, and the youth may be remanded to either juvenile or adult correctional custody, under fixed or indeterminate sentences.

Some Consequences of Statutory Revision

Statutory limits on dispositions and "sentencing" in the juvenile justice system are very new and changing rapidly. One of the first states to enact violent/special offender statutes was New York, with its 1976 Designated Felony Act and 1978 Juvenile Offender Law. Since then, a number of states have adopted presumptive commitment statutes, including most recently Washington, California, Colorado, and Illinois. Other states,

such as Minnesota, have instituted administrative policies and procedures to handle violent offenders in special programs that closely parallel many statutory provisions enacted by other states. Unfortunately, all of these reforms are so recent that little time or resources have been available to assess their impact.

The New York experience, after 18 months of implementation, represents one of the first preliminary assessments. Edelman and Roysner conclude in their monograph that:

On the whole, the law brought more delayed, complex, and less efficient processing, generated considerable sentencing disparities, and increased the discretion of prosecutors, judges, and administrative agencies, even though the law was intended to mandate more uniform treatment. In effect, it . . . left the adult system less capable than the juvenile system of taking seriously even those cases that remained (after transfers back to Family Court). Meanwhile, the law diverted attention from the very rehabilitation initiatives, particularly in youth employment, that are necessary to prepare juveniles for adult lives of something other than crime. (1980:2)

Moreover, the law has worked against the theoretical deterrent perspective it sought to operationalize: it "has markedly reduced the efficiency, predictability, and fairness in the processing of serious juvenile offenders" (1980:2). For example, nearly one-third of the JOs in New York City were sentenced to probation (New York Times, 1980).

Fisher et al. (1981) have identified a variety of potential impacts of special violent offender legislation that will influence correctional services for such youth. These potential impacts include, at a minimum:

- increasing the use of plea bargaining and expanding the discretionary power of the prosecutor;
- increasing rather than reducing sentencing disparities;
- producing case backlogs and lengthier pre-trial secure detention; and
- limiting rehabilitation by fixing times that youth must spend in secure facilities and denying administrative discretion to transfer youth to non-secure and reintegrative placements.

For example, detention populations in both New York (New York Times, 1980) and Massachusetts (Vorenberg, 1980) have increased, and the profile of juvenile detainees has "hardened." In New York, cases originating in adult court are waived "down" to juvenile court, where certainty of conviction appears low (Roysner and Edelman, 1980). Ironically, a youth tried in Family Court, where the offenses are less serious than those

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**VIOLENT JUVENILE OFFENDER
RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM**

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remaining in adult court, is more likely to be committed to a secure juvenile facility. The apparent sentencing disparities are likely to undercut the intended deterrent effects of the JO law and reinforce the perception among youth that punishment is a question of chance and not a predictable consequence of violent behavior.

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An Experimental Test of the Intervention Model for Violent Juvenile Offenders

The major purpose of the Violent Juvenile Offender Research and Development Program is to rigorously test the individual and combined effects of the various components of the intervention model presented in Chapter 3 and summarized below. The literature on correctional intervention with violent juveniles suggests that many programs to date have been unable to demonstrate effectiveness due to methodological weaknesses in either program design or evaluation design. To avoid such problems in this initiative, the violent juvenile offender projects must develop highly structured and controlled programs and services derived from the intervention model, and carefully implement program and experimental research designs for measuring program effects at each site and across sites.

This chapter reviews the intervention theory, describes the program design, and summarizes the research design to test the intervention model. The discussion explains the linkages between the intervention model, the program design, and the research design. Finally the chapter discusses research issues and responsibilities for the demonstration projects, including sampling procedures and data collection.

The Intervention Model

The intervention model to be tested integrates control, social learning, and strain theories of delinquency, and incorporates individual psychosocial and developmental factors unique to violent youth. Figure 2 shows the units and processes of the intervention model.

Control theory posits that delinquent acts occur when an individual's bonds to society are weakened or broken. Social and personal bonds develop in the societal units where socialization usually occurs: family, schools, community (i.e., laws) and peers. Where bonds are weak or fail to develop, the youth will then associate with and be influenced by delinquent peers.

The youth will likely commit delinquent acts, and, under certain conditions, violent delinquency will occur.

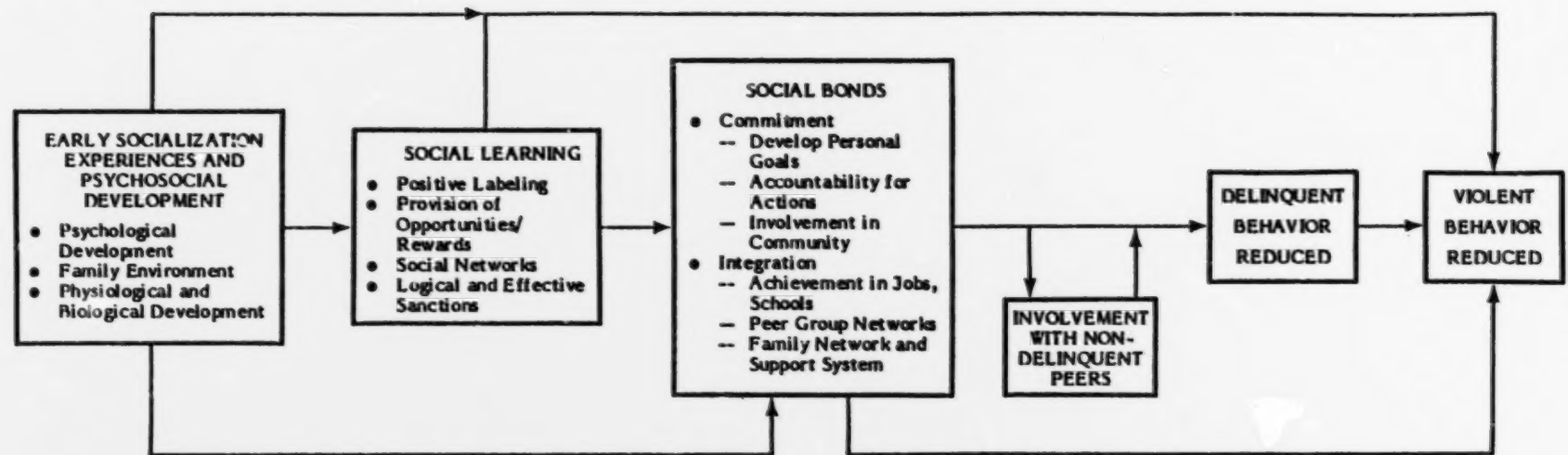
Strain theory offers an explanation of why bonds break down. The theory posits that delinquency results from socially induced pressures such as blocked opportunities to achieve social and personal goals. Under such conditions, the frustration of blocked opportunities will lead to weakening of bonds and participation in delinquent lifestyles and acts, possibly including violence. Social learning theory proposes that violent delinquency is learned through observation and reinforced through practice. Delinquent peers provide positive reinforcement for delinquency and violence, while youths fail to develop accountability for their actions.

Individual factors are psychosocial development factors and those early socialization experiences which distinguish violent youth as a subset of delinquent youth. They include predisposing factors such as violent or abusive families, emotional disturbance, lack of empathy, and physiological or biological disorders. These individual factors may act as predisposing variables in the onset of violent behavior in youths with either strong or weak bonds.

The intervention model suggests that violent delinquency can be reduced by strengthening social and personal bonds through a process of social learning and provision of treatment services as needed for individual factors. The intervention model defines two types of social bonds--integration (external) and commitment (internal). Integration includes such variables as participation and achievement in conventional roles and activities (families, schools, peers, careers), and the presence and recognition of an effective sanctioning network. Commitment includes such variables as setting realistic and achievable personal goals, personal attachments to families and peers, and perceptions of self-determination and control over one's experiences.

Strain and learning theory explain the process by which bonds are weakened or strengthened. Bonds may be weakened by negatively reinforcing experiences such as failures in nondelinquent roles and activities, and social disorganization at home, in school, or on the streets. External bonds are strengthened through positive labeling and reinforcement in school or job-related activities, constructive family environments or living arrangements, and an effective sanctioning network. Internal bonds are strengthened through positive experiences in setting and reaching personal goals, involvement in supportive social networks, and participation in community life and social institutions.

FIGURE 2: Intervention Model for Violent Juvenile Delinquency



The development of strong bonds (commitment and integration) is mediated by early childhood socialization experiences and psychosocial development. These factors specify the importance of violence in the home as a model behavior, child rearing practices and family cohesion as contributors to the learning and development of violent behavior. The model proposes that violent delinquency is thus reduced not only when social and personal bonds are strengthened, but also when alternative non-violent behaviors are developed and learned as responses to emotional, situational, and environmental stresses.

Research and Policy Questions

Policy Issues

The primary objective of the violent offender research and development program is to rigorously test the impact of the foregoing intervention model in reducing violent crimes committed by juveniles. Recidivism will be measured using official records and self-reported delinquency data. Randomly assigned experimental and control groups will be compared for post-release arrests, adjudications, and institutionalizations, self-reported violent and other illegal acts, and social functioning. A specially developed scale will link severity of new offense with time-at-risk. A second objective of the program is to determine the effects of these strategies on the processing of violent juveniles in terms of fairness and efficiency. Policy questions concerning violent juvenile delinquency and proposed interventions include:

- What are the factors related to violent juvenile crime (social conditions, contextual, and psychological or individual)?
- What are the offense patterns (careers) and socio-demographic characteristics of violent juveniles?
- What victimization patterns, use of weapons, and extent of gang involvement characterize violent juveniles?
- What is the role of treatment in conjunction with other factors (e.g., system processing) in the reduction of recidivism for violent juvenile offenders?
- What is the comparative impact on rehabilitation of adjudicating violent youths as juveniles or adults?

Research Issues

The intervention model proposes two paths to violent delinquency and its reduction. First is the direct causal influence of

individual psychological or other predisposing factors. Past interventions with such factors have regarded violence as akin to a disease and have operated according to a "medical model," treating the symptoms of violent behavior--often using psychotherapy--in the hope of "curing" it. The current formulation regards violence as a behavior that, except in rare circumstances, can be controlled through the systematic application of social learning and control theories by teaching new behaviors while "treating" the causes of violence through diverse and individualized services. The primary focus of intervention in this case, however, is on the behavior, somewhat irrespective of its causes.

The second path to violent delinquency is via learning in several social contexts, beginning possibly with families, continuing through other social units (e.g., schools), and continuing in peer groups and other violent subcultures. Unformed, or deteriorated, social bonds then cause violent delinquency, mediated by individual factors. This path suggests interventions which focus on strengthening and sustaining social bonds to minimize violent delinquent influences from peers and environmental stresses at the same time that new non-violent behaviors are learned.

We assume that violent behavior can result from either of the two "paths," and that the balance of interventions between individual factors and social variables will change depending on each youth's background and needs. The intervention model hypothesizes that the social learning process will strengthen bonds to non-delinquent lifestyles while it also enables youths to develop behavior norms void of violent delinquency. Thus, the development of social bonds and learning of nonviolent responses are related but somewhat independent: while stronger bonds may minimize some conditions leading to violent behavior (e.g., associations with delinquent peers), they do not in and of themselves teach appropriate responses to other situations where the youth may respond violently. A critical research question, then, will examine the relative contributions of strengthening social bonds and developing "accountability" for one's behavior to reductions in violent and non-violent recidivism. This examination will, in turn, shed light on the extent to which a general model of delinquency can explain violent delinquency.

Thus, a critical research question is whether interventions to strengthen social bonds alone are sufficient (and for which youths) to eliminate violence, or whether there must also be behavior-specific interventions. This question lies at the heart of several critical research controversies:

- the relationship of delinquency to violent delinquency;
- the relative contributions of individual factors and environment to the onset and cessation of violent behavior;

- the ordering of interventions between individual factors and personal or social bonds to reduce delinquency; and
- the efficacy of social learning theory and practices as behavior-change modalities.

These research questions are also focused on the relative importance of social (integration) and personal (commitment) bonds to non-delinquent lifestyles. If violence alone ceases but youths continue to commit delinquent acts, we might conclude that delinquency and violence are somewhat independent and are possibly "caused" by different factors. Integration and commitment may be affected differently by these interventions, thereby providing some evidence of the relative importance of social structural and attitudinal factors in delinquency and violence. The impact analysis will focus on reductions in recidivism as a function of several outcomes (e.g., attainment of treatment goals, development of bonds) to inform further refinement of the intervention theory, and to increase knowledge about the causes of violent delinquency and approaches for its control.

Underlying Principles

The intervention model in Figure 2 proposes that violent delinquency will be reduced and controlled using a social learning approach to strengthen bonds and resolve individual psychosocial stresses. The model is supported by four underlying principles which incorporate the intervention theory. These principles should in turn inform program design for correctional interventions described in the next section. The underlying principles are described below, including their linkages to the theoretical model.

Social Networking. This strategy suggests that providing opportunities for socialization will strengthen personal bonds--"commitments"--to families, peers, schools or other social institutions, as well as to non-delinquent lifestyles. This strategy requires that alternative positive lifestyles and peer networks be available to youths, that positive role models and relationships with significant others be developed, and that these networks serve as resources upon which youths can draw in times of stress from other parts of their lives. Examples of social networking include empowerment; role development (Weis and Hawkins, 1980); development of personal goal-setting, problem-solving and decision-making skills; and opportunities for self-determination. Designed to reduce youths' alienation from and increase their involvement in social and family institutions, these tactics should be applied to several areas

where personal attachments develop: family, school, job, peers, and community.

Provision of Youth Opportunities. This strategy is designed to strengthen youths' social bonds--"integration"--to non-delinquent and conventional activities by providing opportunities for achievement and rewarding successful participation in schools, jobs, family, and community. This strategy requires that skills be developed to increase opportunities for success, that realistic and achievable goals and expectations be set for each activity, and that success in these activities be positively reinforced.

Examples of this strategy include education, job training, and job development interventions that provide the social and interpersonal skills necessary for success in society. Such tactics must provide not only for immediate tangible gains (e.g., diploma, training stipend, job placement) but also for enhancement of roles within these conventional spheres of activity (e.g., social mobility, job advancement). The development of skills and opportunities for success will strengthen youths' social bonds by providing positive rewards, equipping youths to live in society through conventional and rewarding school- or job-related activities, and providing economic and social resources to reduce reliance on delinquent and violent lifestyles for either economic or social status gains.

Social Learning. While the above principles focus on identifying the personal and social bonds to be strengthened, social learning specifies the process by which these bonds are reinforced. It also specifies a process whereby youths learn accountability for their actions and to avoid reliance on violence or delinquent activity for personal or economic gain. Social learning acknowledges and addresses the role of environment and context in the development of violent behavior.

The social learning principle specifies behavioral change through positive and negative reinforcement. Positive reinforcements occur when social interactions provide personal and social rewards, facilitate personal goal achievement, and minimize environmental or social stress. Negative reinforcements occur through application of clear systems of logical consequences and sanctions for violent behavior. Positive social learning occurs, for example, when educational activity leads to incremental knowledge gains as well as a diploma or certification; when job training leads to job skills, placement, or advancement; and when job placement results in fair wages, social recognition, and opportunities for advancement. Positive social learning also occurs when social and community activities provide opportunities for decision-making, problem-solving,

conflict resolution, and self-determination that leads to empowerment and a sense of control. Negative reinforcement for illegal and violent behavior results from the imposition of sanctioning systems that are clear, fair, effective, and consistent. "Clear" implies that punishments are consistently and explicitly tied to illegal acts or violations of stated rules; "effective" suggests that responses occur quickly and without ambiguity or contradiction; "fair" implies that sanctions acknowledge and take into account situational factors involved in rules violations or illegal acts.

Goal-Oriented Interventions. Interventions in violent delinquency must acknowledge and address the role of individual factors underlying some violence and aggression. Goal-oriented interventions specify behavioral alternatives to violence that are specific, realistic, and achievable. Examples of such approaches include developing affective skills (e.g., communication skills) that minimize physical and verbal aggression and improve social interactions, or elimination of self-defeating behaviors such as rejecting peers or significant others and social isolation.

This approach also requires identification and assessment of special individual psychological or predisposing factors that may underly violent behavior (e.g., chaotic home, character or neurological disorder, physiological stresses, or such emotional problems as anxiety or fearfulness). Interventions for these factors should be specific to youths' needs and abilities and should use (wherever feasible) goal-oriented services that reward participation and achievement. Recognizing that the sources and causes of violent delinquency may vary considerably, the provision of these services should be highly individualized but consistent in their application of social learning principles.

Program Design

To provide a rigorous test of the intervention model and strategies, a comprehensive program design must be developed for correctional interventions for violent juvenile offenders. A survey of intervention programs for violent juvenile offenders and a review of the evaluation data and theoretical research have identified the structural components and treatment approaches which are critical to program design. This design must incorporate the theory-based intervention underlying principles described above.

To ensure the validity and cross-site comparability of the research and evaluation data, the research and development sites will be required to design both structural components and

treatment approaches and treatment approaches to incorporate the underlying principles of the intervention model. These components are described below, including the linkages to theory and strategy.

Structural Components

Structural components include the case processing and service delivery systems for program participants, as well as the structures within which services are planned, coordinated, and monitored.

Case Management. Projects must feature continuous case management with periodic review and (as necessary) modification of each youth's service needs and plans. Moreover, case management must incorporate social learning principles through use of performance contracts that specify the services to be provided by the project, the conditions and expectations to be met by the youth, and the consequences of failure to meet contract requirements, including actions to be taken in the event of in-program law violations.

Case management serves several purposes (Mann, 1976; Strasburg, 1978). It ensures rational planning and continuity so that youths receive all the services they need in a timely, efficient, and continuous manner. It builds in clear and consistent expectations for youths across numerous service agencies, maintains important relationships throughout the entire correctional program, provides opportunities for rewards where gains are made, and keeps the youth in "touch with the positive elements of his or her environment" (Strasburg, 1978).

Case management separates treatment, advocacy, and control functions within one program. Thus, the contract becomes the social/legal control agent, together with the authority of corrections personnel. Treatment is provided by service providers. The case manager serves as advocate to ensure that each youth receives needed services. The case manager also provides feedback to each youth on progress and problems in meeting contract goals.

Comprehensive Range of Treatment Approaches. For each youth to receive the specific services identified in the assessment process, projects must offer a comprehensive range of services. To address the multiple causes and correlates of delinquency, available services must focus on individual behaviors; on the situational settings of family, school, and peers; and on the youths' community environments. Finally, to ensure that service plans are implemented and services received, linkages

with all components of the justice system and with other public and private agencies and resources must be developed and maintained.

These services should be linked to the intervention program by the case management function, and should incorporate the underlying principles. The design of each service should ensure that individualized interventions are goal-specific, provide opportunities for involvement and empowerment (where feasible), and reinforce participation and goal attainment.

Strategies to ensure that these principles are observed by service providers include staff training, continuous interaction between case managers and service providers, and referral agreements with performance specifications. Examples of individualized intervention services incorporating these principles appear in the next section.

Community Reintegration. Projects must stress the eventual successful reintegration of youths into their communities, and should include follow-up with participating youth and their families through (and, if feasible, beyond) the completion of the programs. The community reintegration emphasis ensures that the intervention strategies are applied consistently throughout all phases of the program. For example, performance contracts should be used during all residential phases from secure care to in-home treatment, and in all services from education to family interventions. This component will thus require special efforts by project staff to secure the continuous involvement of community agencies and resources in program design, so that the youth can expect to encounter consistent services and responses from schools, family, and other community resources during the transition to independent living.

Reintegration services are critical to sustain in-program treatment gains after the termination of court-mandated control. Traditional "aftercare," or "follow-up," services have typically been undeveloped in violent juvenile offender programs, rarely amounting to anything more than control measures. Positive gains made during "treatment" have, in the past, tended to "fade out" once youths returned to their former community environments and peer influences. Youths resumed delinquent careers, possibly because new behaviors were "unlearned" or because they lacked the supportive resources to respond to environmental stresses with newly learned behaviors. Thus, the importance of community reintegration lies both in sustaining new behaviors and skills learned during treatment and in reinforcing the modification of these behaviors during adaptation to family and community life on the streets and in the workplace.

Treatment Approaches

Treatment approaches include the specific interventions designed both to strengthen social and personal bonds and to address individual problems and factors related to violent delinquency. These services should specify the content of the intervention and must incorporate the strategies described above. These treatment approaches should, wherever possible, be designed specifically for violent delinquents and utilize techniques shown to achieve positive rehabilitative results (see chapter 3). The assessment process for planning and coordinating services, as well as the services themselves, are described below.

Individualized Assessment. Given the wide range of causal and situational factors that may contribute to a youth's violent delinquency (see chapters 2 and 3), projects must have a rationalized and consistent process by which those factors and, therefore, the service needs of each youth are identified and a service plan devised. Given the family's role in the development and strengthening of personal and social bonds, youths' families should be involved whenever possible in decision-making throughout intervention.

Initial assessment provides a basis for setting performance goals and contracts, allows for updates, modifications, and "corrections" in service plans and contracts, and also provides an opportunity for gathering feedback from each youth about the performance of intervention services provided by several referral resources.

Job Training, Skill Development, and Job Placement. Job-related services should include training in both basic and job advancement skills, training in career decision-making skills, training coupled with educational advancement (e.g., GED), and socialization in the daily routines of the workplace. Follow-up help after job placement is an important facet of reintegration and resocialization to community life. Youth employment is an important service for high-risk youth whose attachments to school and commitments to other institutions are relatively weak (Weis and Hawkins, 1980).

Education. Education services should be provided to strengthen youths' social bonds through development of salient job skills (opportunities) and attachments to goals (commitments). Educational achievement is also an important source of positive labeling and reinforcement (social learning), which can minimize negative labeling or delinquent learning in other community contexts (e.g., where crime or social disorganization is present). Education services should incorporate the following techniques: individualized assessment of skill level and needs; specific learning goals; individualized programming; basic aca-

ademic skills; multi-modality teaching; sequential presentation (breaking complex skills into simpler ones); differential reinforcement of learning performance; and program goals including diploma or GED. Special remedial programs should be available to the mentally retarded and learning disabled youths in the client population.

Education programs should use strategies to provide opportunities for involvement in decision-making (i.e., increasing commitment, or social networking), success and achievement in pursuit of educational skills and goals (i.e., increasing integration, or youth opportunities), and clear and consistent responses to both achievement and illegal conduct (i.e., social learning). Alternative education projects employing these strategies are particularly useful for youths who have rejected other educational environments and whose attachments to school are weakest (Weis and Hawkins, 1980; Romig, 1978).

Physical Health Services. Health services address the individual predisposing factors in emotional, physical and psychosocial development that may contribute to violent delinquent behavior. Physical health care services should focus on nutrition, dental health, physical fitness, and health education. Special programs should be available for those physically handicapped, chronically ill, and neurologically disordered youth.

Mental Health Services. Mental health services include psychological and psychiatric treatment for youths who are rigorously assessed and diagnosed as seriously emotionally disturbed and character-disordered. Such services should make use of both therapeutic and behaviorally oriented (e.g., behavior modification) treatment modalities.

Mental health services must be specifically designed to alter violent and aggressive behavior. They should also employ social learning techniques, including setting behavior-specific goals, modeling of alternative behaviors, reinforcing goal attainment, and sanctioning aggressive or violent acting out.

Individual and Family Counseling. Focusing on problem behaviors and contributing factors identified during individual assessment, counseling services should include family interventions, parent training, communication skills, and behavioral change strategies. Promising techniques include group therapy with a teaching focus, family treatment that seeks to improve family communication skills, and parent training in problem-solving and disciplining skills. Such services should be designed to achieve changes in behavior through learning mechanisms tied to specific behavioral goals and by providing rewarding involve-

ment and interactions with families, peer groups, and in other activities. (Counseling designed to reduce violent behavior through attitude change does not reflect the social learning principles to be tested in this research and development program.)

Individual counseling components should include the following features: input from youths, families, teachers, and significant others on problem identification and analysis; specificity of behavioral goals; contingency contracting and reinforcements for goal attainments; opportunity to practice new behavior in the natural (community) setting; continuous evaluation and modification of goals; and involvement of counseling staff with youth in the natural (community) setting.

To increase attachments between the youth and family where there exists a viable family unit, family interventions should focus on parent skills development in discipline, communication, affection and emotional support, and reinforcement. Alternative family environments should be considered for youths too young for independent living and whose natural families are chaotic or disorganized. For families experiencing severe conflict--emotional or physical--between youths and parents, interventions in the family communication "system" and crises have been demonstrated effective (Baron and Feeney, 1976). Such interventions should teach alternative conflict resolution tactics and use social learning principles and contracting.

Constructive Living Arrangements. A variety of living arrangements should be available to support and reinforce non-violent behavior and foster attachments to positive peer groups and activities. Learning principles and opportunities for social networking should be applied consistently across all these living situations. Living arrangements should be designed to facilitate delivery of other intervention services and attainment of individual behavioral goals. These arrangements include (but are not limited to) group homes, therapeutic communities, independent living, foster family care, and residence in the youth's natural home.

Special Services. Intervention projects must include special treatment services for such behavior-specific problems as substance abuse and sexual aggressiveness. These services must specify behavioral goals for treatment within performance contracts, and use social learning principles (e.g., rewarding participation in sex education programs or drug-free periods).

Recreation and Leisure Time Activities. Youths should have access to recreation and leisure time activities, including

opportunities for involvement in community life and socialization in non-delinquent peer networks, that provide positive experiences through role enhancement and empowerment (e.g., practicing decision-making skills and self-determination in design of activities).

Research Design

The research design for the Violent Juvenile Offender Program will consist of three major components: a client impact evaluation, an evaluation of the program and correctional environments (i.e., process evaluation), and a system impact evaluation. This section summarizes the primary goals and methods of each component. A complete discussion of methodological and conceptual issues as well as the rationale for the research design are provided in the appendix.

Client Impact Evaluation

The evaluation of the program's impact on its clients' behavior will consist of a comparison of the effects of the intervention model described above with the effects of traditional or "status quo" services for a control group. Impacts will be measured at three, 12, and 18 months after the youth returns to the community, both while still under project supervision and after the transition to independent community life. Three major variables will be examined for post-release experiences:

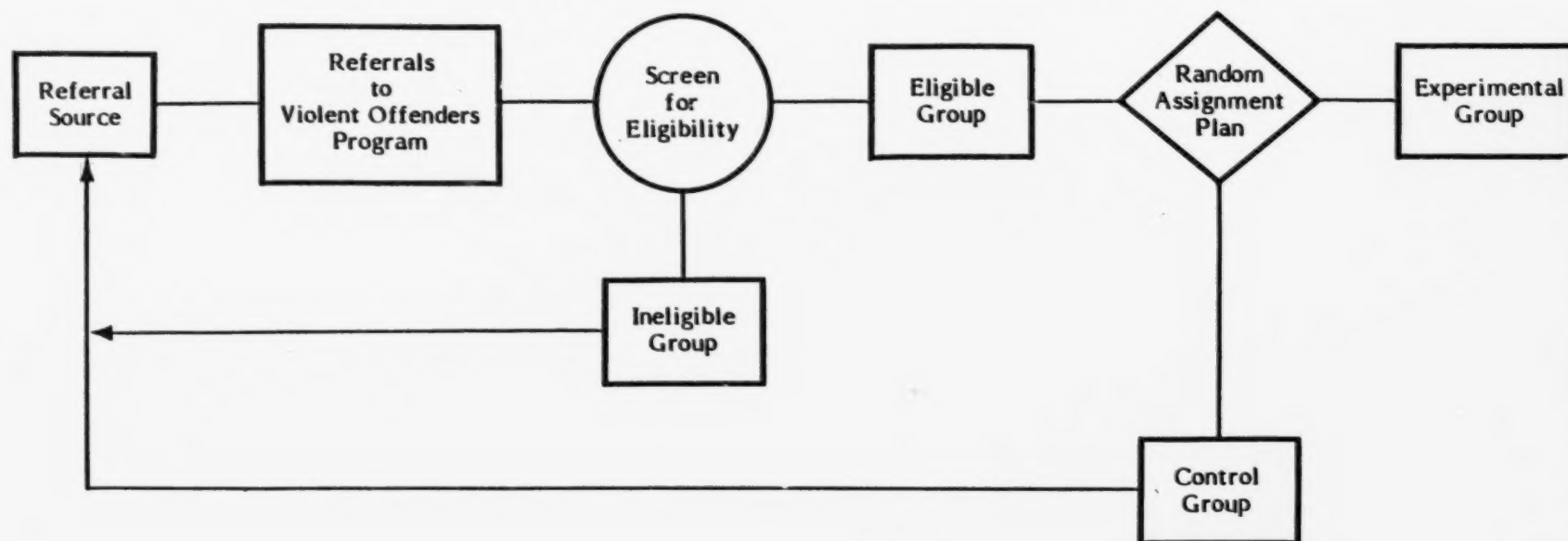
- new offenses (self-reported and officially recorded),
- incarcerations, and
- social functioning (the bonds of commitment and integration).

The Client Impact Evaluation is grounded in two assumptions. First, it is planned that projects will be relatively small, serving approximately 30-50 youths each year in two waves. Each site must comply with the prescribed experimental design by incorporating randomization in selecting from project eligibles. Figure 3 depicts the recommended sampling procedure.

In-Program Outcomes. The Client Impact Evaluation will measure not only post-project behavior and experiences, but also will determine the effects of project intervention on each youth while under project supervision. Data will be collected for each youth during both residential care and the transition to community life.

The reasons for this data collection effort are two-fold. First, these data will allow for a preliminary assessment of program

FIGURE 3. Random Assignment Plan for Impact Evaluation



effectiveness prior to any client's completion of the intervention program. This information should be important to both the national program participants and the individual projects. Secondly, the data collected here will enable an examination of how successful the intervention services are in reducing violent behavior prior to the youths' reintegration to the communities and environments in which they live. That is, are the projects able to impact upon the youths' antisocial behavior in a positive manner, regardless of whether such changes can withstand the conditions of the youths' social environment.

Several measurements of youth improvement will be utilized for both residential and reintegrative phases. Measurement of youth behavioral changes will include three major components. First, the "contracts" made between the projects and the youths will be followed to observe the progress of each participant in meeting the agreements. Furthermore, reward/punishment systems for youths' behaviors (e.g., token-economy levels) will be observed and recorded. Second, a Youth Rating Form will be completed at regular intervals by relevant project staff, including case managers. The Youth Rating Form will allow the project staff to rate the youngster's progress or regress on numerous variables depicting social variables and behavior patterns. Third, project youths will be interviewed and tested at periodic intervals to measure self-reported delinquency and social functioning. This interview will provide the youth a chance to assess his own progress and his perception of the project's intervention approaches. In addition, "official" data on in-project offenses will be gathered and analyzed. Both outcomes of interventions and in-program crimes will be studied.

Post-Project Recidivism. The key data source for recidivism will be state arrest records (rap sheets). Since some of the project's clients will be released to the community at an age where subsequent police contact may still be processed on juvenile status, it is also imperative that records on juvenile charges and adjudications be available for each jurisdiction served by the project.

Throughout most of the literature on evaluating treatment programs for convicted offenders, measures of recidivism have been crudely operationalized using simple "success/failure" dichotomies. The practical consequences of these fundamental measurement issues are dramatic. Researchers and practitioners in the field of delinquency are well aware of the recent strong suggestions that rehabilitation "does not work" (e.g., Martinson, 1974; Lipton, Martinson, and Wilks; 1975; National Research Council, 1979). It may be the case that rehabilitative efforts do work but that measurement devices are insufficiently sensitive to measure changes. Or perhaps rehabilitation has been attempted for the "wrong" group of offenders.

The follow-up on recidivism will collect information on the occurrence and quantity of arrests and convictions in the program and in each residential phase. However, it will go the necessary step further and examine the seriousness of the arrests and the time at risk preceeding the arrest. The specially developed offense severity scale to be used will include an index of both severity and time at risk, thus yielding a continuous variable for recidivism. In contrast to dichotomous variables, a continuous variable reconciles ideological and philosophical arguments about "outcome." It is also sensitive to the temporal dimension of recidivism, making it possible to reconcile the different times "at risk" or "on the street" that will probably be observed.

Self-reported delinquency will also be measured, through interviews using established scales, at three months after release from residential supervision (or, for youths placed back in the community after intake, at three months after intake), and again at 12 and 18 months. This measurement will occur both for experimental and control group youths. A time frame will be added to make these data comparable with official reports. These data will not only supplement official records on post-release illegalities but will also be tested (audited) against such records to assess the utility and sensitivity of self-reported delinquency data.

Reinstitutionalization. We will track each client for institutionalization following release from the project's residential component. This will include tracking youths through the state juvenile and adult correctional agencies, the state mental health agency, and whenever possible, county jails and private residential placements. As with arrest data, it is crucial that each grantee make assurances regarding the availability and accessibility of these data.

Social/Interpersonal Functioning. Social bonds--internal "commitments" and external "integration"--will be measured at program entry and at several intervals during and after the reintegration phase. Follow-up interviews with each client 3 months and again 12 and 18 months after return to the community will include standardized social and interpersonal functioning scales as well as concrete measures of the social bonds described in the intervention model. These will include school and job status; remediation of personal, social, and family problems; health and housing problems; "life satisfaction"; peers and significant others. Pre-project social functioning scores will serve as control variables. Post-project data will be analyzed using factor analysis and principal components to determine representative measures of social functioning for analysis as an individual outcome and also as a multiple outcome in combination with recidivism.

All post-project data, for both experimental and controls, will be gathered by on-site data collectors. For outcome of controls or comparisons, data and information will be required from the project or agency supervising the control group youths. These agencies must provide assurances to facilitate any follow-up interviews. These contingencies should be anticipated in project development activities.

**Process Evaluation:
Measuring Program and
Correctional Environments**

Differences in outcomes between experimental and control groups will be attributable to differences in the program and correctional environments under each experimental condition. The research component will gather data on these environments in order to measure the "strength and integrity" of treatment in both experimental and control services. In addition, these data will assist in identifying the various dimensions of the relationship of the youth to the program and community. Finally, these measures are important in determining, in quantitative terms, the extent to which the intervention projects incorporate the intervention theory and assumptions and whether and how this theory differs from traditional correctional interventions.

Data will be gathered in each setting the youth is likely to experience, from institutional or secure care to community life. Because of the fade-out phenomenon observed in most past intervention programs, the research will study the strength of the intervention in each situation to determine whether correctional environment is associated with changes in behavior (e.g., recidivism). While program effects may indeed be having worthwhile effects, the long-term effects may be eroded by community factors. Thus, changes in correctional environment may influence recidivism. Recidivism may in fact then be "caused" as much by community factors as it is "controlled" by the program.

The variables to be studied in this effort, as derived from the intervention model, include:

- performance goal-setting (goal-oriented behavior);
- youth and staff perceptions of effectiveness and legitimacy of sanctioning systems (social learning principles);
- youth perceptions of opportunities (provision of youth opportunities);
- reinforcement and socialization networks (social networking);
- staff-youth power relationships (accountability and control, project treatment emphasis).

System Impact Evaluation

The research effort will also focus on the impact of individual projects on the juvenile justice system. Specifically, data will be collected to ascertain project impact on the capacity of the juvenile justice system to handle violent juvenile offenders fairly and efficiently, the occurrence of changes in the ways these youth are defined and processed, and the impact of such changes for project youth.

Fairness and efficiency will be operationalized to examine such concerns as involvement of defense counsel and other due process concerns; length of time in secure detention and consideration of alternatives; the use of plea bargaining; involvement of community resources in making "informed dispositions"; criteria and procedures for waiver to criminal court; the procuring of community reintegration services (e.g., education, vocational) after release from custody; consistency in length of institutional placement; the cost of treatment; etc. The issues of "fairness" and "efficiency" may not always be compatible, indeed, there may be trade-off functions relating to these issues. Such trade-offs will be an index of the prevalent policies and philosophies governing the processing of violent youth.

The major research strategy for this effort will consist of tracking annual cohorts of youths arrested for violent offenses as they proceed through the juvenile justice system. Data will be gathered on length of stay in detention; time to disposition, etc. Following site selection, initial data collection will establish baselines on these variables in each location during the year prior to the development of the demonstration projects. These data will then be compared to post-inception data collected at one-year intervals.

In addition, focus groups will be conducted annually to convene key representatives of law enforcement (truant officers, uniformed patrol, and juvenile division officers), probation, juvenile court (judges and/or commissioners), the educational system, and mental health systems. These system actors will evaluate the flow of violent offenders through the system, qualitatively determine changes in decision criteria, etc., and identify system gaps and bottlenecks. Finally, these groups will be asked to rate various criteria of fairness and efficiency, and their input will be analyzed against community baselines (pre-project procedures, history of prior treatments, recent crime data).

One additional data source in the System Impact Evaluation will be questionnaires for assessing community attitudes toward violent juvenile offenders. The national program derives, in part, from the climate of fear and apprehension about juvenile violence. In fact, OJJDP has undertaken a campaign to

disseminate accurate information about juvenile violence. Perhaps the research and development projects will result in a more informed perspective on juvenile violence among community leaders. An instrument will be developed to measure these perceptions pre- and post-program inception.

The Role of Projects in Research and Development

It is important here to comment on several implications of the nature of a research and development program for the design and conduct of the requisite evaluation research.

First, the research effort will recognize and attempt to reconcile the inherent dichotomy of interest between those who provide services and those who evaluate that service provision. Much has been written on this issue, and it need not be belabored here. While intervention program staff accurately perceive their primary role as service provider, it is critical to note here that the basic objective of the national research and development effort is **knowledge building**--discovering and documenting what works, under what circumstances, and for which types of youths. While the direct service provided by each project is extremely important, the national initiative has been developed, not for the funding of service provision for its own sake, but rather, to assess the impact of specially designed intervention projects on violent juvenile offenders. The knowledge gained through the research and development effort will lead to the development of more effective policies and services.

The implications of this distinction are numerous and far reaching. At the very outset, the selection of local projects for funding is affected. As study sites, prospective grantees must not only be capable of delivering quality services, have sound management practices, etc.; more importantly, they must view their entire effort as part of a knowledge-building exercise and themselves as active co-participants with the evaluator in that exercise. In this context, the evaluator is not to be feared, or even merely tolerated; instead, it is the sine qua non of the total endeavor. Grantees will be selected on the strength of their recognition of this fact and of their acceptance of active roles in the evaluation effort.

A key element of any such evaluation is the careful and complete documentation of exactly what it is the project does. This includes not only what services are provided by whom and to which clients, but a host of other operational and contextual information: project development history, structure and interface with other elements in the juvenile justice system, community setting and ancillary social services, goals and assumptions of line staff (as contrasted with "official" project ide-

ology), decision-making criteria, caseload, and staff attitudes and morale. Each of these items is a potentially important factor in project operations. Collectively, these data will be brought to bear on interpretations of client outcome data; individually, they will be essential to subsequent replication efforts. The systematic and continuous collection of these data will require the assistance of project staff throughout project operations.

The evaluation will also require assistance and assurances from grantees for access to criminal justice system data. Given the typical problems impeding such access, prospective sites must provide assurances of the active participation of the appropriate system agencies (e.g., local juvenile courts and probation departments). Ideally, these agencies should be willing to assist in the actual collection of various standardized data (e.g., on system flow and client interviews) necessary to a thorough study.

The importance of the foregoing observations is heightened in a simultaneous evaluation of several projects. Even when the selection of project models and sites is carefully designed to facilitate outcome comparisons across sites, it is inevitable that variations in process variables such as those cited above will materially affect the findings. To the extent that these variations are adequately documented, our explanation of those findings and development of knowledge in the field will be furthered.

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APPENDIX

OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN FOR THE VIOLENT JUVENILE OFFENDER RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

RESEARCH GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

As noted in the first chapter, the juvenile justice system is currently at a critical crossroads in determining the type of policies and interventions best suited for violent juvenile offenders. Decisions will need to be reached concerning the priorities of rehabilitation and treatment versus punishment and community protection. These policy decisions should be based on empirical assessments of the capability of treatment and rehabilitative efforts to effectively and efficiently decrease the incidents of violent crime and improve the behaviors and condition of those they treat.

With this objective in mind, the major purpose of the research and development program is to develop information and knowledge about the feasibility and effectiveness of various policy options and intervention STRATEGIES so that decision-makers can in fact make informed choices concerning community responses to violent juvenile crime. To this end, the research objectives of the Violent Offender Research and Development Program are: (1) to test program models for treatment and reintegration that are designed to reduce violent crimes committed by youths in the program, and (2) to test the impact of these strategies on the juvenile justice system's handling of violent juvenile offenders.

It is the intent of the research component of this OJJDP initiative to develop and implement a research design which "tests" intervention strategies in carefully structured and controlled demonstration programs. "Test" implies experimental design with careful attention to hypotheses, variables, data collection, methods, sampling procedures, and analytical techniques which meet social research standards for rigor and validity. In light of the objectives described above the evaluation design will consist of four major components: (1) Program Development and Implementation Analysis, (2) Process Evaluation, (3) Client Impact Evaluation, and (4) System Impact Evaluation. Each of these components will address a number of research questions and policy issues through a number of instruments and methods. We will first discuss some of the policy implications and hypotheses tested for each component, followed by descriptions of the evaluation components and methods.

OVERVIEW OF MAJOR RESEARCH COMPONENTS

Program Development and Implementation Analysis

This component of the research effort will first examine the methods of OJJDP, the national coordinator, and other actors involved in the development of the Research and Development Program. This analysis will also review the implementation strategies and experiences of each of the projects, beginning with the federal inputs and historical development of the initiative. An important part of this analysis is an examination of projects' development of linkages to the juvenile justice system,

negotiation and development of criteria and federal procedures, and case-handling protocols. These historical and developmental factors may influence program strategies and outcomes, and could potentially serve as inputs in later analyses. Previous national evaluations have shown that project development requires the anticipation of barriers or obstacles to operationalization of goals at the local level. Analysis of the responses to barriers reveals project's adaptive strategies. The responses may include an immediate or gradual goals shift, a redefinition of the problem or target group, or a change in strategy or treatment. Shifts in the intervention strategy will have potentially serious effects on the results of the study. Furthermore, any forced reduction in resources, qualified staff, or facilities may require major project readjustments. The potential of such external impingements and influences is significant, and at the least warrant attention in the research design.

The Process Evaluation

This part of the evaluation will consist of four interrelated sections. First, a detailed description of each of the individual project's structure, philosophies and interventions will be undertaken. The research will first measure, at each site, the differences in correctional environment between the "traditional" corrections programs and the demonstration projects. Using both standardized instruments and open-ended interviews, this component will provide a specification of each project's correctional intervention strategy, and the extent to which the strategy incorporates the content and elements of the intervention theory (see Chapter 3) and model (Chapter 5). The process component will also measure the "strength and integrity of treatment" (Seechrest, et al., 1980).

Second, admission decision-making, intake processing, and the case flow of those admitted will be observed and recorded. Third, instruments will be implemented to collect all relevant information concerning client backgrounds, characteristics, and histories. The last aspect of the Process Evaluation will be to assess what impact the individual projects are having on their clients while the youths are still in the project's care. Instruments will be used to measure project impact while youths are in residence and on aftercare status.

Data collected in the Process Evaluation will be useful in the Client Impact Evaluation in explaining why different outcomes occur for control and experimental groups, and what interventions or linkages produced them. It will provide administrators and practitioners information about the organizational, methodological, and contextual features of the special projects, which will be helpful in future planning and replication of program models. Furthermore, the Process Evaluation data will provide feedback on project services, activities, and outcomes to OJJDP, the individual projects, and the national coordinator. This feedback will assist the individual projects, and other evaluating audiences, in management decision-making, revision of case-management approaches, and assessment of progress to goals.

Detailed case studies will describe client "flow" and decisions by project staff on both case management and intervention. These data will also reveal what criteria were actually implemented in selecting clients for admission, and what factors caused any deviations from the federal intent.

Finally, the data collected in this component are crucial in efforts to learn about violent juvenile offenders and causal factors precipitating their offenses. Data collected here will allow a comparison of violent juvenile offenders to non-violent delinquents, and to the general juvenile population.

The Client Impact Evaluation

The Client Impact Evaluation will compare the effects of program services on experimental group youths to the effects of alternative or "status quo" services on a control group. These impacts will be measured for an aggregate sample and individually for all five sites at several points in time--at six-month intervals during project services, three months after the end of project services, and again 12 and 18 months later. The experimental and control groups will be compared for post-release arrest and institutionalization, self-reported illegalities, and social/interpersonal functioning. Data will be collected through official records, and interviews with youths and relevant staff.

The data analysis plan will employ several types of statistical procedures to identify the types of clients and types of treatments that are statistically related to reduced recidivism and improved social functioning. For program clients, we will identify the attributes of "successes" and "failures." This component of the study will provide decision-makers with some conclusive evidence on such policy issues as:

- which client background factors are related to "success"
- what role treatment and rehabilitation should play in the processing of violent juveniles
- what effects are evident from processing violent youths as adults or juveniles
- what is the optimum juvenile justice system involvement
- what intervention strategies are most successful and for whom
- are treatment efforts important for contributions other than decreasing recidivism

System Impact Evaluation

This component of the research effort will assess the impact of the local projects on their communities. It will examine to what extent these new projects are able to increase the capacity of the juvenile justice system to handle violent juvenile offenders fairly and efficiently, and will measure changes in the ways accused violent juvenile offenders are handled in each project site. Data collection will consist of a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods to evaluate system impact. Changes will be measured in case handling procedures and the criteria applied by the justice system in arrest, screening, detention, prosecution and defense, and adjudication and disposition decision-making. Resource allocation and time for case processing will serve as indicators of efficiency. "Fairness" will be assessed using qualitative methods to determine how due process requirements are observed at each stage of processing. A major source of information will be a focus group of juvenile justice system representatives at each project site, both pre- and post-project inception. Data will be collected from this group on the fairness and effectiveness of the juvenile justice system responses to violent juvenile offenders. In addition, questions will be asked to ascertain if the concentration of resources and services to this program resulted in changes in perceptions and attitudes toward juvenile violence.

EVALUATION DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

THE EXPERIMENTAL MODEL

An experimental design for the client impact evaluation will yield reliable evidence of program effects. This effort requires that each grantee utilize random assignment in determining which of those youths meeting the program's admission criteria are admitted into the program, with the remainder assigned to "traditional" interventions. Random assignment should occur after youths are screened and identified as program-eligible. Two alternative methods are proposed: (1) randomly selecting the necessary number of youths to be admitted to the project from all referrals meeting the eligibility criteria (e.g., the admission of every other eligible referral, or use of randomized time blocks for admission and rejection); or (2) matching eligible referrals into pairs and randomly selecting one youth from each pair for the program. The use of either of these selection processes would provide ideal experimental and control groups to best serve this research effort.

Recognizing that ethical and legal concerns of court officials and practitioners could prevent some states from meeting this ideal experimental model, we will allow for an alternative experimental model. For example, in those localities where there are a sufficient number of juveniles meeting the program's criteria, a control group can be generated by sampling eligible youths at a high admission rate (e.g., 3:1 or 4:1) until the project approaches capacity, and then completing the control group with a random assignment plan.

PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

A crucial but often neglected issue in evaluating federally funded demonstration programs concerns the impact of the federal funding agency on the demonstration program. Frequently, evaluations of such efforts take the federal agency, its decision-making, and its influence as a given, without devoting any attention to the consequences of the values, suggestions and demands of these agencies. Those studies which have examined federal-level inputs to demonstration projects have displayed the importance and utility of this approach (Fagan, et al., 1980; Krisberg, et al., 1980). It is likely that federal inputs will exert considerable direct and indirect influence on the program design and treatment projects.

In addition to experiencing federal-level impact, the literature contains many studies which document that in its developmental stages, an organization or program frequently experiences considerable barriers or obstacles to the operationalization of its goals at the local level (Selznick, 1966; Stinchcombe, 1965; Hartstone, 1977 and 1980). Social service programs operate in a social environment interacting with and responding to numerous other organizations and agencies. Both the federal and local level inputs need to be attended to and as such will receive systematic examination in this study.

National Level

At the national level, data and information will be gathered to determine the history, rationale, and intent of the national effort. Decision-making and information flow among federal actors will be carefully documented through methods including: file

and document review; in-depth, open-ended interviews with OJJDP/NIJDP staff; and participant observation in program development activities with National Coordinator, the Technical Assistance provider, OJJDP, NIJDP, grantees, and juvenile justice system officials.

Narrative field notes and interview formats will be used to construct a history of the OJJDP initiative, stressing the following topics:

- policy formulation process
- architects of the federal initiative
- information flow and decision-making
- procedures to reconcile divergent perceptions
- problem definitions
- expectations and utilization of evaluation results
- federal coordination strategy

Thus, while much of the data collected on the national level will utilize documents and interviews to retrospectively construct the development of the initiative and the early stages of project selection and development, we will also continue to observe the impact of the many national-level actors on the local-level sites throughout the life of the grant. We will examine national level mandates and directives, as well as negotiations between national and local level representatives. In addition, we will periodically interview national and local representatives concerning attempted and actual national level influences. Finally, providing funding allows, we will study the individual projects which survive after the national funding has stopped, to see what happens to such programs who are able to outlive the federal research and development program. We will seek to discover if they are damaged or benefitted by this change and why.

Local Level

For the demonstration projects, the analysis of program development and implementation examines different information, but relies on similar methods. By closely monitoring the history and development of each project, we will be able to monitor the influences of interest groups in development of intervention strategies, and analyze the contextual influences. Study topics will include strategies for project start-up, initiation of linkages between projects and the juvenile justice system, and the development of treatment strategies and approaches. For example, we will look closely at the types of staff hired, their experiences and orientation, and their job descriptions. The two major foci of this inquiry are:

- the process of development of project treatment theories, intervention strategies, organization, staff maintenance, and goals (emphasizing activities during the proposal development phase);
- major implementation decisions, problems encountered, and the development of linkages with the justice system and negotiation of criteria and definitions.

These data will be gathered shortly after contracts are signed, when the developmental process begins (before client intake). The analysis will focus on project emergence, with attention to the major forces exerted by the community and the juvenile justice system to modify program design to meet local concerns and

contingencies. Of greatest importance will be the requirements and considerations of the prosecutors and juvenile court judges with respect to reporting of program outcomes, program accountability, security issues, definitions and eligibility criteria, and procedures for referral and case management.

Developmental events and decisions internal to the program will also be a focus of the study. Definitions of "violence" and violent offenders, intervention philosophies and experiences, staffing preferences of the program administration, and other service criteria will all be a focus of this inquiry.

During early site visits UI research staff will conduct interviews with juvenile court personnel (including judges and intake officers); prosecuting attorneys and public defenders or assigned counsel; probation or parole supervision staff and department administrators; local mental health agencies conducting diagnostic assessments and evaluations of youth; clinicians and treatment professionals affiliated with the program; other youth-serving organization and agencies; local prevention programs; other treatment programs; advocacy groups; state corrections agency staff (if possible, and preferably those affiliated with institutions). Within the projects, UI staff will conduct interviews with project staff as well as directors and administrators of parent or sponsoring agencies and program staff. These interviews will focus on the decisions, perceptions, attitudes, and role expectations of respondents. The interviews will be largely open-ended, and the analysis will be designed to construct a program chronology. The result will be an analysis of the major forces shaping the demonstration effort, including federal inputs and local community or system concerns.

UI staff will monitor or attend meetings and other sessions where program design and criteria are discussed. Other data collection methods will include archival review, file review, and systematic observations. On-site evaluation field staff will periodically update the developmental history.

In addition to project-specific information, the analysis will compare program development and implementation experiences of the five projects to identify trends or dissimilarities. This information is certainly policy-relevant, and will also be a consideration in the evaluability assessment and the research questions and hypotheses. Finally, development history (e.g., goal shifts, service shifts) may serve as inputs in later analyses of program outcomes.

PROCESS EVALUATION

As noted in the overview, this component of the research effort will focus on describing in detail for each project: the structure, intervention approach, and specific interventions utilized; intake processing and case flow; client backgrounds, characteristics, and histories; and the project's impact on youths during their "in-care" period. Standardized data collection is required for all five demonstration programs in order to generate both management information and input variables for client impact analysis. The use of standardized data collection for both program services and client characteristics is essential to the research and evaluation emphasis of the national program. The data collected in the Process Evaluation component of the study are seen as particularly crucial for three reasons.

First, these data provide the supplemental information necessary to explain the effects measured in the Client Impact Evaluation. Field situations examined through

program evaluations are extremely difficult arenas in which to control for intervening variables (endogenous and exogenous), necessitating the use of qualitative methods to thoroughly describe not only the project development, but also the process and content of service delivery. Relationships between program structures and events are not linear, but are dynamic, vital, and emotional; actions and responses are the result of processes which are best understood in their own context. Thus, the data collected here will specify the independent variable by describing the treatment theory, its intervention technique and how it is mediated by and through the project environment. Every effort will also be taken to explicitly describe the alternative program experiences of the control group.

Second, these data will also supplement the Client Impact Evaluation by allowing for a preliminary evaluation of "instrumental outcomes"--the projects' effectiveness at various stages of secure and non-secure care, as well as in the community. Furthermore, this assessment will support project efforts to curtail antisocial behaviors prior to the end of project services.

Third, data collected in the Process Evaluation component are crucial for gaining insight about those juveniles who are committing violent offenses and are consequently admitted into the demonstration projects. Obviously, these data are critically important for their contribution to knowledge of the causal factors underlying juvenile violence. In addition, these data are necessary to determine which type of clients are most successful in the treatment approaches utilized.

Description of Individual Projects

Data collection for the description of each of the five demonstration projects will consist of participant observations, staff and client interviews, and review of secondary data sources (e.g., grant applications, research and planning reports, program documents).

On-site research assistants will be employed by the national evaluator at each site shortly after projects receive funding to observe and assist in each project's translation of hypotheses and assumptions into clinical and other treatment interventions, as well as any changes which occur within these concerns during the project's existence. A "hands-on" approach is envisioned so that the program design and intervention strategies are consistently applied, resulting in a "good test" of the model. The on-site evaluator will be responsible for collecting detailed data on the project's delivery of services and staff concerns. This will include gathering information on: the assumptions, concepts, theories on which the program is based; the types and quality of services provided; the content of staff/client interactions; case assessment, case management, and decision-making; staffing pattern; staff attitudes, values, and perceptions concerning the program, its clients, and their roles; staff turnover and staff morale; and staff communication. These data will be systematically collected using structured interviews conducted with program staff and clients at periodic intervals. Interview data will supplement the on-site evaluators' observations and other secondary sources.

This analysis should allow for an assessment of each intervention project as it passes through distinct phases of development, and also a clear and comprehensive articulation of the treatment and service delivery concept. Highly structured case studies should permit data reduction to compare projects along salient structural features and service content. Based on an inductive process, typologies can be constructed for

various treatment and organizational dimensions. These will permit comparisons across sites and construction of dummy variables for inclusion in the impact analyses. This will also permit a substantive analysis of which features or dimensions are responsible for observed outcomes across sites.

In addition to describing in detail each of the five projects, every effort will be taken to provide a similar, though necessarily less detailed, description of the placements and services provided to the control groups in each community. Time demands may restrict such descriptions, however, to the alternative placement used most frequently in each community.

Process Evaluation

Measuring Program and Correctional Environment. The research component will measure the program and correctional environment in order to gather data on the "strength and integrity" of treatment in both experimental and control programs (Seechrest, 1979). Coates, Miller, and Ohlin (1978) suggest in Diversity in a Youth Correctional System that a future goal for such research would be a single variable describing the relationship of the youth to the program and community. Of course, these relationships are more complex, and several dimensions of this relationship must be addressed.

These measures are also important to determine, in quantitative terms, the extent to which the intervention programs incorporate the intervention theory and assumptions, and to determine whether and how this theory differs from traditional correctional interventions.

Therefore, data will be gathered in each setting the youth is likely to experience: institution, group home, and community. Coates, et al., found that youths' gains in programs were quickly eroded when they returned to their larger communities which lacked the opportunity, support, and learning systems of the correctional environment. This implies that the research will study the strength of the intervention in each situation, to determine if a change in correctional environment is associated with changes in behavior (e.g., recidivism).

The variables to be studied in this effort will be derived from the intervention model and will include the following:

- lifestyle reinforcement and socialization networks (social networking)
- youth perceptions of opportunities, staff-youth power relationships (provision of youth opportunities)
- youth and staff perceptions of effectiveness and legitimacy of sanctioning systems (social learning)
- youth goal-setting (goal-oriented intervention system)

This component of the research will build upon the methods and conceptualization framework developed by Miller, Ohlin and Coates in their research on the Massachusetts youth corrections reforms, and later refined by Miller and Ohlin (1980, draft). Surveys of youth, staff, and key actors at each site and in each setting will be conducted at nine-month intervals (twice during the research) to further measure and describe the strength and content of the intervention.

Data on Youths in Programs

Intake Processing and Case Flow. Prior experience on programs designed for violent juvenile offenders has found a necessary component of this type of evaluation to be a comprehensive examination of the pathways through which youths enter into, move through, and are discharged from the program (Cocozza and Hartstone, 1978). These data prove crucial when assessing such potentially problematic issues as: quality and quantity of referrals; intake processing time; bed utilization rates; appropriateness of length of residential care; and appropriateness of subsequent placements.

The on-site evaluator will be responsible for supervising project staff in maintaining accurate records of intake processing and case flow through a series of management information forms. An Intake Form will be completed for each youth referred to the program, whether admitted or not. This form will record information on such variables as: date referred, referral source, dates of various intake processing steps, date found acceptable, date admitted. This form will allow for an examination of referrals to the program; use of the program by anticipated referral sources; any delays occurring between referral and admission and factors precipitating those delays, etc. It will also provide for a study of how the definition of violent juvenile offender is ultimately applied.

In addition to the Intake Form, program staff (case managers) will be responsible for maintaining a Case Flow Form. This form will contain such information as: date placed in residence, in-residence interventions utilized and during what time periods, date placed into aftercare, types of aftercare services provided and for what time periods, subsequent placements attempted and utilized. Based on these data, we will be able to track each client through the program and examine how many clients received which interventions and services and for what duration. These data will also prove crucial in the Client Impact Evaluation (e.g., a comparison of "program graduates" to precipitous releases; relationship of time in program and recidivism). In addition to using these data to examine client experiences, these data will allow for an analysis of program operations.

While it would be difficult to obtain the same detailed information for control group youths, some of the more important case flow information should be collected for this group as well. To this end, we will at a minimum collect information on the dates of admission and release of control groups in alternative placements and the types of services and interventions they experienced.

Client Characteristics and Histories. Standardized background information on all experimental and control group youths will be collected. Data will be collected for each youth admitted to the program in three general areas: demographic characteristics, delinquent careers, and social/psychological functioning. Information will be obtained primarily from admission folders, client interviews, and family interviews. An interview schedule will be developed and administered to all program-eligibles prior to assignment to experimental or control conditions. This interview will tap variables in the intervention theory.

Demographic data will include basic information relating to: date of birth, sex, ethnicity, family status and composition, socio-economic status, housing, and physical-/mental health. These and other data will be collected from the client's admission folder and whenever possible staff interviews with the client's parent(s).

Delinquent career data will include information on all apprehensions, including date, offense charge, and final disposition. While information on adult arrests are typically contained on state or FBI "rap sheets", similar data sources are not usually available for juvenile offenders. While we anticipate this information will be contained in the clients folder accompanying the youth at admission, should this not be the case, programs should assure the availability and accessibility of such data. For those offenses which result in incarceration or treatment disposition, information will be gathered on location and length of institutionalization, type of treatment program, and outcome of treatment. In all probability, active record searches will be necessary to obtain these data. Data collected on criminal histories from official records will be supplemented with self-report information collected from interviews with each youth when he enters into the program. The self-report data should provide additional insight into the actual extent of the youth's illegal behavior patterns prior to program admission.

Measurements of the youth's social and psychological functioning will consist of several components, and will integrate research variables with assessment data and information. All youths will complete a social functioning scale. Developed by the evaluation's principal investigator, it includes items incorporating the theoretical explanations of violent juvenile delinquency posed by the intervention theory--integration and commitment, as well as background variables of early socialization. Where site-specific data are required for intervention planning, it will be integrated in the data analysis for that site. These data will serve as control variables in subsequent client impact analyses.

In addition to collecting control group data (e.g., demographics, social functioning, delinquent careers) we also plan to collect information for two other groups of juveniles: a historical sample of violent and non-violent juvenile offenders from the year preceding program inception. Data will include delinquent careers and demographics. This will provide data on whether and how violent youth differ from other delinquents. It will also provide data on system responses to violent youth before the experimental program. If possible, a broader youth survey will be conducted to determine how violent youth and other delinquents differ from non-delinquent youth for the variables specified in the intervention model. This examination of broader populations along the same variables will shed further light on the correlates of violent juvenile crime and the definition of violent crime prior to this effort.

In-Program Outcomes. This section of the study will seek to supplement the Client Impact Evaluation component (addressing post-release experiences) by collecting data on changes in the youth's behaviors while still under project supervision, and during the transition to community life.

The reasons for this data collection effort are two-fold. First, these data will allow for a preliminary assessment of program effectiveness prior to any client's completion of the intervention program. This information should be important to both the national program participants and the individual projects. Secondly, the data collected here will enable an examination of how successful the primary intervention services are in altering the youths' behavior prior to the youths' return to the communities and environments in which they live. That is, are the projects able to impact upon the youths' antisocial behavior in a positive manner, regardless of whether such changes can withstand the conditions of the youths' social environment.

In-program measurements of youth improvement will be utilized for both residential and reintegrative phases. Measurement of youth behavioral changes will include three major components. First, the "contracts" made between the projects and the participants will be followed to observe the progress of each youth in meeting the agreements. Furthermore, any project use of a reward/punishment system for youths' behaviors (e.g., token-economy, levels) will be observed and recorded. Secondly, a Youth Rating Form will be completed at regular intervals by relevant project staff. This will include case managers and other service providers. The Youth Rating Form will allow the project staff to rate the youngster's progress or regress on numerous variables depicting social variables and behavior patterns. Third, project youths will be interviewed and tested at periodic intervals to measure the youth's self-reported delinquency and social functioning. This interview will provide the youth a chance to assess his own progress and his perception of the project's treatment approach and staff. In addition, official data on in-project offenses will be gathered and analyzed. Both outcomes of interventions and in-program crimes will be studied.

CLIENT IMPACT EVALUATION: POST RELEASE EXPERIENCES

Data from the process analysis will provide the control variables and independent variables for the impact study. An analysis utilizing these data sets will allow us to address such issues as the impact of length of residential treatment, type of services received, staff morale, and improvements in post-release social and interpersonal functioning. This component allows for an evaluation of the theories embodied in the individual projects as they were carried out in the specific treatment approaches, modalities, and services.

The evaluation of the program's impact on its clients' post-release experiences will compare the effects of the intervention process in each site on the experimental group compared to the effects of alternative or "status quo" services on a control group. This impact will be measured initially at several points in time--at six-month intervals during project services, and at three, 12, and 18 months after the end of project supervision. Continued funding will enable a longer follow-up period. The three major variables examined for post-release experiences are recidivism, reinstitutionalization and social and personal bonds. Before describing in detail the data collection methods for each of these three variables, a note of caution must be raised.

The methodology of the Client Impact Evaluation, described below, is grounded in two assumptions. First, we assume that all five projects will be relatively small. We anticipate each project will provide services to approximately 20-30 youths at one time. Secondly, we expect each site to comply with the desired experimental design by incorporating randomization in selecting from program eligibles in one of the aforementioned ways. With these two assumptions supported, the methodology for the Client Impact Evaluation will be as described below. Should there be major changes in either the size of the project population or the procedures utilized for admission decisions, then some potentially major revisions will be necessary.

Recidivism. The key data source for recidivism will be state arrest records (rap sheets). Since some of the project's clients will be released to the community at an age where subsequent police contact may still be processed on juvenile status, it is also imperative that records be available in each state on juvenile charges and adjudications.

Throughout most of the literature on evaluating treatment programs for convicted offenders, measures of recidivism have been crudely operationalized using simple "success/failure" dichotomies. The practical consequences of these fundamental measurement issues are dramatic. Researchers and practitioners in the field of delinquency are well aware of the recent strong suggestions that rehabilitation "does not work" (e.g., Martinson, 1974; Lipton, Martinson, and Wilks; 1975; National Research Council, 1979). It may be the case that rehabilitative efforts do work, but that measurement devices are insufficiently sensitive to measure changes.

Our follow-up of recidivism will obviously collect information on the frequency and incidence of post-release arrests and convictions. However, we will go the necessary step further and examine the seriousness of the arrests and the time at risk preceding the arrest. The offense severity scale will index both severity and time at risk. Such a scale is currently being developed by researchers at Johns Hopkins. UI will undertake the development of these measures as an anticipated result of the research. In view of current research to develop similar methods for adult parolees (Schmidt and Witte, 1979; Gottfredson and Gottfredson, in press), we see this as a major advance in the field of measurement of recidivism.

In sum, the mean, or cluster scoring, will allow us to determine severity of offense as a function of the time at risk. This relatively simple scaling technique will yield a continuous variable for recidivism which reconciles ideological and philosophical arguments about "outcome", while providing a variable which can be subjected to powerful analytic technique. Dichotomous variables also ignore the temporal dimension of recidivism. The use of continuous (time to failure) rates provide again continuous variables which not only are more sensitive, but reconcile the different times "at risk" or "on the street" that we are likely to observe.

Self-reported delinquency will also be measured. Using scales already available, the UI on-site field researcher will interview youth to determine self-reported delinquency three months after release from custodial supervision and again one year after release for a small cohort. This measurement will occur both for experimental and control group youth. The self-report scale will be adapted from other instruments similar to that employed by Hirschi, Gottfredson, and Weis (in press), Short and Nye (1957-58), and most recently used by Elliott, et al. (1976). A time frame will be added to make these data comparable with official reports. These scales were originally established scales (Rosenberg, 1965), modified to the reading level of young adolescents, previously tested for reliability and homogeneity. These data will be used to supplement the official records on post-release illegalities, compare self-report with official records to assess the utility and sensitivity of self-report delinquency data, and to measure those aspects of delinquent behavior which are not tapped by official records (e.g., official records do not account for differences in police response to delinquent behavior).

Reinstitutionalization. In addition to collecting data on post-release illegal behaviors, we will track each client for any institutionalization which occurs following his release from the project's residential facility. This will include tracking youths through the state juvenile and adult correctional agencies, the state mental health agency, and whenever possible county jails and private residential placements. As was the case with arrest data, it is crucial that each grantee make assurances regarding the availability and accessibility of these data.

Social/Interpersonal Functioning. Follow-up interviews will be done with each client at the end of residential services and three, 12, and 18 months later. These interviews will include standardized social and interpersonal functioning scales as well as concrete measures of social and personal bonds specified by the program theory base. These will include school and job status; remediation of personal, social, and family problems; health and housing problems; "life satisfaction"; peers and significant others. These data will be analyzed using factor analysis and principal components to determine representative measures of social functioning for analysis as an individual outcome, and also as a multiple outcome in combination with recidivism.

Data Collection Plan

The timing of data collection is shown in Figure 4.

For purposes of planning data collection, we envision three scenarios:

M_1 = Youths receive residential treatment, community reintegration services, and liberty

M_2 = Youths receive community-based services only

M_3 = Youths receive secure residential care only

Data collection points are as follows:

$t=0$: screening and eligibility

$t=0+\Delta$: intake and assessment

t_1 : end of secure care

t_1+X_1 : follow-up at three months after return to community (official and self-reported delinquency, social functioning)

t_2 : end of project services

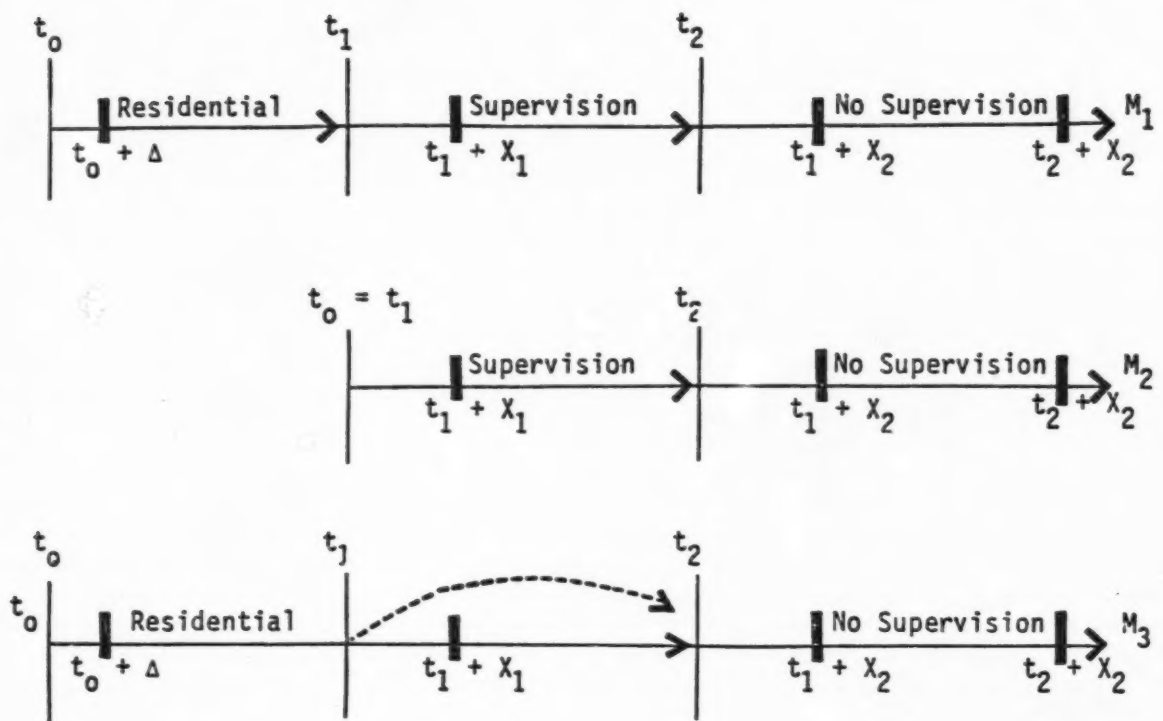
t_1+X_2 : follow-up at one year after end of residence or return to community (official and self-reported delinquency, social functioning)

t_2+X_2 : follow-up at six to 12 months after end of project services (official and self-reported delinquency, social functioning)

Impact data (delinquency and social functioning) will be gathered at time t_1+X_1 , three months after the youth returns to the street, at t_1+X_2 , one year after the youth returns to the street, and t_2+X_2 , six to 12 months after the end of project supervision and services.

All post-program data, for both experimental and controls, will be gathered by UI on-site researchers. For outcome of controls or comparisons, we will request data and information from the program or agency supervising the control group youths. We will ask that agency to facilitate any follow-up interviews. These contingencies should be anticipated in the program development activities.

FIGURE 4. Data Collection Plan



SYSTEM IMPACT EVALUATION

This component of the research effort will focus on the impact of the individual projects on the juvenile justice system (JJS). Data will be collected to ascertain in what ways and to what extent the five demonstration projects are able to influence the capacity of the JJS in their community to handle violent juvenile offenders "fairly and efficiently." As soon as the five sites are selected, both quantitative and qualitative data collection will be promptly initiated in order to establish baseline data of how "fairly and efficiently" violent juveniles are handled prior to the development of the demonstration projects.

Quantitative Data

To help assess the impact of the demonstration program on the JJS, we will select for each site locale a sample of about 50 juveniles charged with the target violent crimes for the year preceding project development, and again annually for the duration of the demonstration. This analysis will support measurement not only of the impact of the program on the JJS, but also whether impacts increase the longer the program is in existence.

Specifically, we will operationalize the concepts of "fairness and efficiency" through the use of several indicators: (1) the percentage of youths charged with violent crimes actually adjudicated for those crimes, (2) average days in non-treatment secure detention between arrest and disposition (3) the average length of time between apprehension and disposition, and between pre-placement detention and correctional placement, (4) the use of court assessment resources in making placement decisions, (5) assessment of due process provisions, such as point of initial involvement of defense counsel, and (6) the number and types of youths processed through the JJS as opposed to the Criminal Justice System (i.e., a study of bindovers in each community). It is anticipated that these data will allow us to examine the impact of the demonstration program on such JJS problems as:

- plea-bargaining and inconsistency in adjudication decision-making
- lengthy incarceration of youths in non-treatment oriented detention centers or jails prior to disposition and/or program placements
- irrational placement decision-making without the use of proper assessment resources and tools
- lack of placement options for violent offenders with the juvenile correctional agency and resulting waivers to the adult system

The collection of data on the issues listed above is to a large extent dependent on the existence and accessibility of various statistics in the five site locales. Given the availability of these data for the annual cohorts of "violent juvenile offenders," we will be able to examine what, if any, impact an innovative and comprehensive intervention program for violent juvenile offenders has on the efficiency and fairness of the overall JJS in its handling of these youths. Finally, we will examine the "spillover" of these effects on the handling of youths charged with non-violent offenses.

Qualitative Data

To supplement the qualitative data collected in this study component, we will also utilize a "focus group" to collect some qualitative data. These data will be even more crucial should the records and statistics necessary for the quantitative analysis be

unavailable. This strategy will consist of bringing together at each locale a focus group of JJS representatives who operate at various points of contact with violent juveniles. This will be done immediately after site selection and one year after its inception. The exact numbers and types of actors comprising this group cannot, a priori, be specified. We anticipate that at each site key representatives of law enforcement (truant officers, uniformed patrol, and juvenile division officers), probation, juvenile court (judges and/or commissioner), the educational system, and mental health systems will participate.

The tasks of this group will consist of determining the flow of violent offenders through the system to develop a map of case processing criteria, procedures, and activity. Representatives will be asked to provide numerical documentation of case handling, and descriptions of local intra- and inter organizational practices with respect to violent juveniles. UI will also query participants regarding any anticipated future system activity in the area in order to determine trends (for example, a trend might be more often revocation waiver provisions or youthful offender statutes. Or, a trend may be to seek forensic mental health interventions). UI staff will develop system case processing maps. Maps will reflect numbers of clients processed at various system points, as indicated by the agency documents obtained during the site visit. Maps will also determine structures, criteria, participants, and procedures.

The second meeting of the focus group will concentrate on a different set of tasks, although it will be identically constituted. Data analysis results will be presented to group members by UI staff. A guided discussion will be undertaken in which group members are encouraged to offer interpretations of systems dynamics as they would affect the measured effects to that time. This exercise will constitute an attempt to "get inside the system" by way of actors' attributions relative to measured effects of system components. While consensus will be encouraged, it is not necessary to the success of this endeavor.

The information generated during the second focus group will be an attribution analysis and sensitivity analysis:

- an attribution analysis will involve incorporating the added information concerning activities and policies of each system actor into refined analyses whereby estimates of sources of variance can be established;
- a sensitivity analysis will be undertaken in which comparative analyses are undertaken utilizing alternative assumptions vis-a-vis attribution; this will be of particular importance in the cases where focus groups do not achieve consensus.

Finally, groups will be asked to reveal criteria for fairness and efficiency, and to rate these criteria. Ratings will be scalar, and will be analyzed given community baselines (pre-program procedures, history of prior treatments, recent crime data).

One additional data source in the System Impact Evaluation will be questionnaires used to assess community attitudes toward violent juvenile offenders. The national program derives, in part, from the climate of fear and apprehension about juvenile violence. The research and development programs will hypothetically result in a more informed perspective on juvenile violence among community leaders. An instrument will be developed to test this proposition through measures of these perceptions pre- and post-program inception.

ROLE OF PROJECTS IN THE NATIONAL EVALUATION

While we have already discussed our understanding of the goals and objectives of a national research and development program, we feel it is important here to comment upon several implications of such a program for the design and conduct of the requisite evaluation research.

At the outset, let us note that we recognize and fully appreciate the inherent dichotomy of interest between those who provide services and those who evaluate that service provision. Much has been written regarding the divergence in priorities between the two, and the difficulties encountered because of that divergence need not be belabored here. However, we also wish to stress that the basic objective of a national research and development effort is **knowledge building**--discovering and documenting what works, under what circumstances, and for which types of youths. While the direct service provided by each program is extremely important, the national initiative has not been developed for the funding of service provision for its own sake. Rather, it is the evaluation of the impact of the five sites on violent juvenile offenders which is most crucial.

The implications of this distinction are numerous and far reaching. At the very outset, it effects the selection of local programs for funding. Since their selection is as study sites, it is not enough that they be capable of delivering quality services, have sound management practices, etc. Local grantees need to be selected at least in part by the extent to which they are willing to view their entire effort as part of a knowledge building exercise and to view themselves as active participants in that effort. In such a context, the evaluator is not an alien, but rather a co-participant. An evaluation itself is not to be feared (or even merely tolerated), but, instead, is the sine qua non of the total endeavor. In effect, programs need to be selected which recognize that it is not they who are being evaluated, but that it is the practices, techniques, and service delivery models which are under study.

There are other problems and issues associated with a national research and development program which are not resolved by even such a straightforward and explicit emphasis on knowledge development. For example, a key element of any such evaluation is the careful and complete documentation of exactly what it is the program does--not only what services are provided by whom and to which clients--but a host of other essentially qualitative data must be gathered systematically. These include a documentation of each program's development history of its structure and interface with other elements in the juvenile justice system, of the community setting and ancillary social services, of the goals and assumptions of line staff (as contrasted with "official" program ideology), of decision-making criteria, of caseload, and of staff attitudes and morale. Such a litany might go on and on; yet each of these items is potentially an important factor in program operations. Moreover, these data must be collected not merely once, but continuously throughout the period of program services. Collectively, they must be brought to bear in interpreting client outcome data. And, individually, they must be thoroughly documented to facilitate subsequent replication efforts.

Aside from aiding on-site evaluators with the collection of program and youth data, it is also crucial that each grantee provide assurances and support concerning archival data sources. The all-too-typical problems of obtaining adequate access to criminal justice system data may be similarly affected by a recognition that knowledge development is the primary objective. Here too, sites have to be selected where

access to archival data is not merely promised, but where such access is ensured by virtue of the active participation of the relevant agencies (e.g., local juvenile courts and probation departments). Even more desirable would be the willingness of these agencies to participate in the actual collection of various standardized data necessary to a thorough study--e.g., system flow data, client interview data, etc.

Naturally, too, all of the above observations apply a fortiori to the simultaneous evaluation of several programs. Even when the selection of program models and sites is carefully designed to facilitate outcome comparisons across sites, it is inevitable that variations in process variables such as those cited above will materially affect our findings. To the extent that these variations are adequately documented, such documentation will substantially contribute to our ability to explain those findings and to contribute to the development of knowledge in this field.